TRADITIONAL VILLAGES IN TRANSITION - A CASE STUDY IN THE WESTERN PROVINCE OF ZAMBIA

by

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ABSTRACT

TRADITIONAL VILLAGES IN TRANSITION - A CASE STUDY IN THE WESTERN PROVINCE OF ZAMBIA

This thesis involves a case study of three traditional villages in the Western Province of Zambia, paying particular attention to the nature of transition and development in the context of conventional views about their indigenous economic system and capacity for adaptation.

Part I of the work gives a geographical perspective of the history of the people. Progressive national interaction and integration paralleled by economic consolidation are apparent. Under colonial influence, after an initial positive impact forces from outside the area prove, however, stronger and bring the process of nation building and economic development to a halt.

Part II examines and sums up the present-day conditions in three selected villages in the hope that a synthesis, of the research findings viewed with the understanding gained in the survey of historical development, may yield more reliable guidelines for the formulation of development policies for the area today. Chapter 3 describes and analyses features and characteristics of the physical environment. The growth of settlement and ensuing characteristics of tenure, succession and land rights are considered in the following chapter. A demographic study

of the villages analyses and sums up traits and structure of the indigenous and recently immigrated people, examines their life and social order and aspects such as health and education. Chapter 6 focuses on the area's main productive activities - cattle raising, agriculture, fishing, tree crops and other livestock. Position, location and access to communication and transport facilities, their overall impact on trade and marketing and the present village economy are examined in Chapter 7. The final chapter concentrates on housing conditions and amenities, present conditions and changes which can be observed and utilised as incentives.

In conclusion the study proposes a policy of integrated development for a broadly-based, multilateral scheme which utilises local resources, social characteristics and manpower to be initiated with great intensity and cooperation over a confined area.

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First and foremost my thanks go to each member of the village communities of Nasitoko, Nanyando and Namboma and particularly to those who not only accepted me with generous hospitality but also shared their life and knowledge with me in friendship. I also owe gratitude to the many people I met in the villages throughout the plain; each one gave me in his or her own way something of the wisdom they have derived from living close to nature.

To the members of the Capuchin Order and the Sisters of the Holy Cross stationed throughout the Western Province and particularly to those with whom I stayed in Malengwa I owe more than simple gratitude for accommodation. Their interest in what I was doing and their supportive encouragement when I was in poor physical health were invaluable.

Finally, if anything I have written is good, it is due to the strong, quiet, and unfailing encouragement Professor B.W. Hodder has given me to engage in and go ahead with independent work and research. Without such encouragement this study would never have been started or completed.

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INTRODUCTION

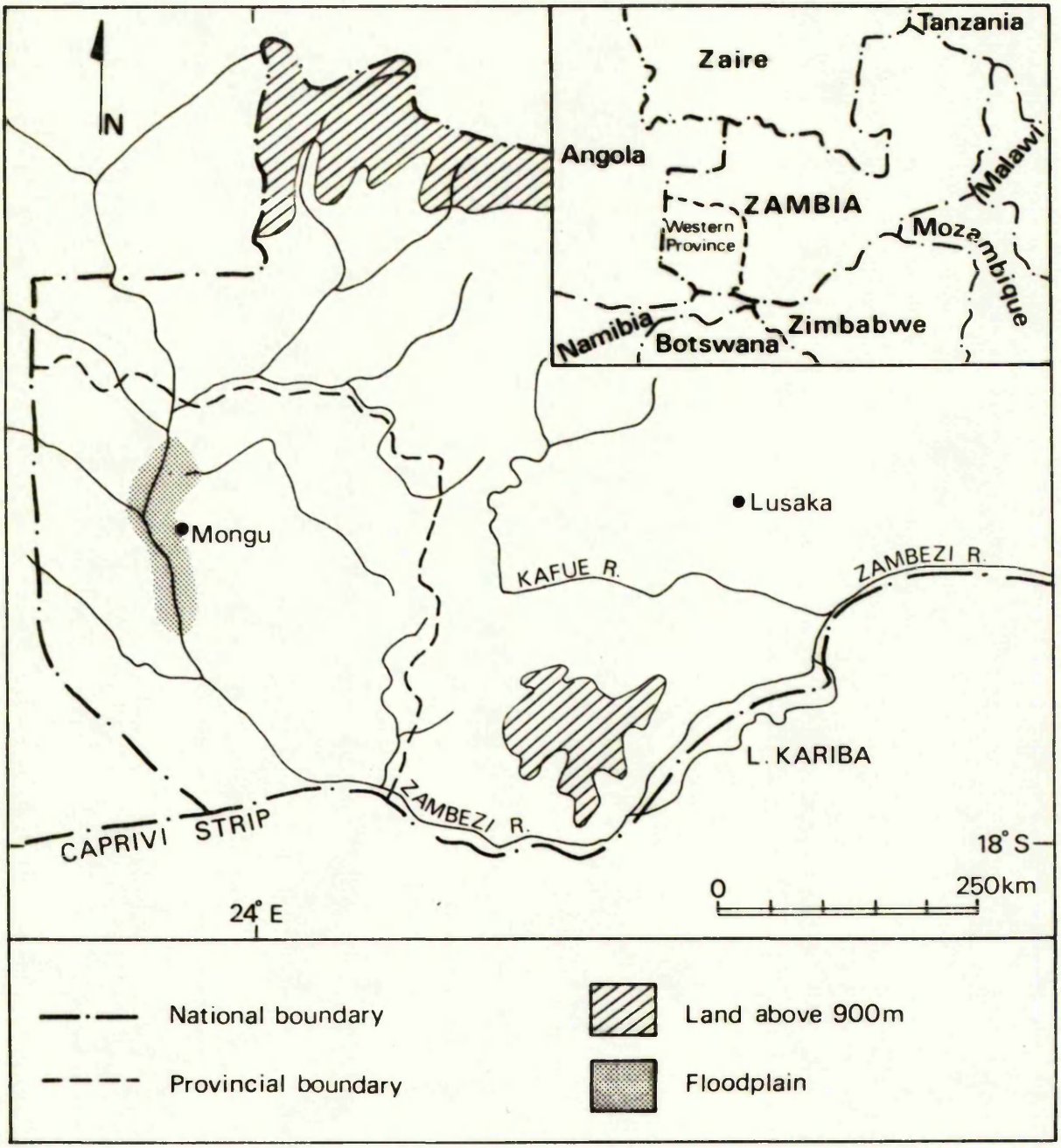
AIMS, METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

The Malozi People on the Zambezi floodplain in the Western Province of Zambia (Fig. 1) are known to have had a lively local indigenous economic system in pre-colonial days. It appears to have reached the peak of its development under Lewanika in the late 19th century before the full impact of colonial forces made itself felt. Ever since, there appears to have been not only stagnation but even retrogression. The heartland of the Western Province depends today largely on imported staple food such as maize which, according to a survey and report by the Times of Zambia, sells here at a price nearly twice the national level. Repeated attempts by the traditional government, as it became increasingly identified with the colonial government, and by the succeeding independent central government of Zambia to implement schemes of rural development seem to have failed.

This study attempts to identify the underlying causes of the apparent apathy, lack of initiative and lack of self-help among a people who seem to have been set on an evolutionary course of development before western-isation affected them. What has gone wrong? Why the almost total lack of response to any initiative from outside? Even distinguished members of Lozi society may now sometimes be heard saying, ' Our people are too lazy to work or to apply themselves.'

FIG. 1

Position of Zambezi Floodplain, Western Province, Zambia.



That agricultural work is traditionally shunned by men and is carried out by women only is another popular explanation for the lack of progress. But any general explanations of this kind are surely too 'simplistic'. Such assumptions cannot be unquestioningly accepted without examining the facts more closely. Hermitte states that the end of controlling Barotse labour and the importing of labour to the political centres of the country (which may be taken to include earlier labour migrations to the south) was restrictive on progressive development. He argues further that Barotseland's greatest problem is the physical environment. Again, the local, indigenous population complained as early as 1927 about the lack of transport facilities which might assist them in their efforts at development. The combination of all these factors certainly had no small influence upon present-day economic conditions. But either taken singly or together, these factors do not seem to add up to a wholly convincing explanation of lack of progress in the area.

Entering upon the present research, it was therefore assumed that none of the questions posed above provides an answer or solution to the problem and, moreover, that the lack of initiative and progress were not inherent in the nature of the people or of their traditional, social, economic or political systems. Rather it is hypothesised that colonial forces disrupted the traditional evolutionary process and that subsequent suggestions and

planning by successive governments, made without adequate understanding of or consultation with the people at grass root level compacted the malaise more than alleviated it. This study aims to reveal the matrix of local environmental conditions in which the people live, and their attitudes, characteristics, ambitions and feelings - all of which must be taken into consideration for any planning to succeed.

To gain some understanding of a people and what motivates them it is necessary to view them in the historic context which has shaped their current attitudes and beliefs and to observe them in their actual day-to-day lives. Library research was therefore necessary preparatory work for research in the field which was then carried out by participatory observation in a limited area. The prevailing mistrust of the people to any outsider or intruder in any way or in any capacity connected with the Central Government or even towards strangers with poor credentials made it necessary to choose a location within easy reach of a mission establishment with suitable accommodation. Nearly four weeks in the field passed before I was able to move about with relative ease and without being rejected. Even then, direct questioning and still more the use of a questionnaire (which had previously been planned) could not be resorted to as they roused deep fears and suspicions.

The choice of the villages Nasitoko, Nanyando, and Namboma was finally made on the grounds of best contacts,

ease of access and the all-pervading serious problems evident in soil erosion and the destruction of the natural vegetation cover. The fact that one of the villages, Nasitoko - the village of the traditional local ruler and the most important in the neighbourhood area - was surveyed was determined less by chance than by necessity, as any activity in the neighbourhood villages could only be carried out with the knowledge and consent of the local traditional ruler. However, the other contributory factors mentioned determined the concentration of research in these villages where subsequently the presence of the local ruler gave silent approval to my movements and so helped to give me credibility in the eyes of the villagers. The choice of Nanyando and Namboma was equally fortunate as they each represent other types of village found along the margins of the plain. Research in the field as well as the compilation of findings later on was seriously impeded by ill health. The protracted period in the field from October 1978 to November 1980, however, was advantageous because observation throughout the seasonal cycle gave a fuller, deeper insight into the lives of the people.

The work was conducted on the basis of frequent short or long visits to the villages and active participation in their work such as gardening, fishing and house building. Participation in these activities conveyed a deeper insight than mere observation. Lack of knowledge of the local language presented difficulties. But the

effect of this limitation was probably reduced by the fact that initially more could be learnt by observation than by direct questioning. There was of course much more to be gleaned through casual conversation and discussion. In most family units there was a member who could express himself or herself in a little simple English. In every village, moreover, there was at least one member fluent and competent in the use of English. Frequent conversation and dialogue with such people threw light on the more intricate and less obvious aspects of village life, traditions and attitudes. Numerous visits to more distant parts of the plain and the adjoining plateau, several on foot or by canoe, accompanied by a conversant villager helped a great deal to place the experiences and observations in the villages in a more satisfactory traditional and regional context. In the absence of any survey maps on a scale larger than 1 : 250,000 all field trips were documented on rough sketch maps. Sketch maps were supplemented by field notes and colour slides. Aerial photographs yielded valuable information about the environment, human settlement and land use.

Literary source material for the study falls into four categories.* Early first-hand accounts written down by traders, explorers and missionaries such as Coillard, Bertrand and Westbeech provide vivid information about

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* All literary source material is listed in full in the bibliography.

environmental conditions and the customs and traditions of the people who depended on and interacted with them and the tribes of the surrounding areas. Later documentation by early colonial officers such as Stirke occasionally help to fill out our picture of life before the spread of colonialism. The second category includes 'Coillard on the Zambezi' compiled by Mackintosh from letters and writings of Coillard and his wife, and 'An Artisan Missionary on the Zambezi' by MacConnachie based on the writings of Waddel a mission helper under Coillard. These are virtually first-hand reports, as are the works by Caplan, Mainga, Hermitte, Stokes and Van Horn. Despite the slant unavoidable in any such first-hand information, they provide a valuable source of collective descriptions and accounts of the growth and development of the area. The anthropological works by Gluckman give similar information. A collection of ancient proverbs in the Si-Luyana Language by Given provides an invaluable source on traditional philosophy. Thirdly early reports of research carried out by Trapnell, Turner and Peters give information on geographical, pedological and ecological conditions of the Zambezi floodplain and adjoining areas as well as of the characteristics of the local people. Hutchinson sums up the meteorological statistical data as recorded at Mongu. Finally, later reports, particularly the Land Resource Study of the Land Resources Division, Directorate of Overseas Surveys and Schultz's

'Land Use in Zambia' appear to contribute little beyond summary re-editings of earlier findings. The same criticism may be levelled at the World Bank Report, October 1975, which gives an Agricultural and Rural Survey of the Republic of Zambia.

Interviews and contacts with people in the area outside the villages concerned either in a private capacity or by official appointments - particularly with officers of the Ministry of Agriculture, staff of the extra-mural department of the university and the nearby educational establishments and missions along the plain margins - proved of value as a catalyst rather than as a direct source of factual information. Most of the people who are not of Lozi origin have little more than a superficial knowledge of the practices, traditions and life of the people while those of indigenous origin are no less guarded than their rural compatriots.

PART I

GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE LOZI PEOPLE

Plate 1: Nasitoko - A typical view of plain margin villages approached from the plateau above. Two vacated village sites on platform indicated by mango trees in background.

CHAPTER I

CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL AND ECONOMIC FORCES IN PRE-COLONIAL TIME

This first chapter attempts a brief summary of what is known about the history, anthropology and historical geography of Barotseland today. The Aluyana, Luana or Luyi (foreigners)*, people who migrated from the Lunda area in Zaire to the northern part of the Zambezi flood plain, seem to have absorbed earlier inhabitants of the area, such as the Manatwa and Kwengo, into their own social structure. These earlier flood plain inhabitants appear to have been great hunters and collectors. The Luyi themselves seem to have brought a token stock of cattle, a knowledge of grassland garden cultivation and probably copper hoes and axes. The flood plain location offered great possibilities for the development of fishing with which the Luyi also seem to have been familiar from their original home environment.

The mounds in the flood plain offered fertile cultivation sites, good cattle grazing sites on the plain after the retreating flood, protection against the flood, as well as defensive sites against early attacks by the Andonyi people from the north-west. Members of the first Luyi royal family established small conquest states in various parts of the plain among the different communities

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* Throughout the text Luyi will be used referring to the original people who started the process of consolidation. Lozi refers to the present people derived by consolidation with and inculturation of other groups.

of earlier inhabitants whose economic practices such as hunting and collecting reinforced and broadened Lozi practices. The ultimate reunification of the small Luyi conquest states under the 4th and 6th Lozi kings seems to have created the national makolo system, which enabled the great Litunga to mobilise groups of people for military activity, e.g. raids and labour projects such as mound building.

Hermitte emphasises the importance of hunting in the early Lozi economy. He also postulates that the decrease in game, particularly lechwe, led to greater communal organisation of this activity. It is, however, more likely that communal hunts developed, as he himself states, because it was difficult to trap the swiftly evading animals on the wide open plain. For the same reason hunting was significant during the floods when animals were trapped on elevated levels. Moreover, Westbeech's observation in 1883 does not support the scarcity of game which Selous emphasises in 1893. This suggests that game was later reduced very rapidly by the use of guns to supply trophies as well as food for the teams of raiding hunters. Communal activities in hunting and fishing therefore seem to have resulted from the nature of the environment and from the need to organise and lead a subordinate people in the activities of the dominant tribe rather than from declining resources. The latter assumption seems to be supported by reports

that communal economic activities were less significant than large-scale public works aimed at extending the size and influence of the capital during Mboo's time. This emphasis on political over economic activities during the early reign of Lozi kings appears to have resulted from a smaller number of people that could be mobilised for work.

Increased manpower and cooperation after the unification of the smaller conquest states enabled the Lozi to encroach upon the territory of other tribes in neighbouring areas, to subdue them, and to control them as vassals. Thus, under Ngalama (K4), the Kwangwa people were forced from the eastern margin to the damboes of the plateau and, under Ngombala (K6), the Totela and Shanjo were subdued and the Subiya reconquered. Control over adjoining bush country not only secured firewood and flood season grazing but it also made the Lozi familiar with the cultivation system of drained gardens practised by the Kwangwa. It further secured for the Lozi services as well as the supply of a variety of goods, e.g. mats, baskets, wooden mortars, paddles, wooden pails and dishes, iron goods, honey and other forest products. These goods had so far only been obtained by the Lozi from neighbouring people through trade for cattle and fish. Tribute comprising the products of their micro-ecological region and crafts, paid by the subject people to the Lozi to safeguard themselves against further Lozi raids came in a more regular and reliable supply and made

a more significant contribution to the Lozi economy.

Nevertheless, raiding for cattle and slaves continued in areas where the Lozi had not yet established their sovereignty contrary to Hermitte's inference, and seems to have been next to fishing and hunting the main pillar of the early economy. Hermitte' argument that cattle could easily be raised in the environment of the flood plain appears to underestimate the generous use and disposal of cattle by the Lozi on the one hand and the difficulty of building up a herd as a result of loss and the slow maturing of Barotse cattle on the other. A people driven to slaughter their stock by other declining resources would hardly have parted as readily with their cattle as Lozi royalty and aristocrats appear to have done in early colonial days. The rate at which cattle were slaughtered or disposed of could only have been balanced by raids, which thus became an integral part of the economy. As neighbouring tribes had been subordinated and contributed their constant share to the Lozi economy in tribute, raids were led into the more distant territory of the Ila along the Kafue River. Later raids appear, therefore, to have been more an economic than a military or political exercise; and cooperation as well as the mobilisation of conquered labour resources for economic ends seem to have played a more important role in the provision of material goods than Hermitte suggests.

Tillage, traditionally the work of women, was

apparently confined to mounds and ridges, clay and river-side beds within the plain; and Lozi were reportedly sedentary, only a small number of people moving with the herds to wet-season grazing along the basin margins. Cultivation provided munanana (a type of sweet red sorghum), a hardy crop which could ripen when partially covered by flood water, as a staple eaten in the form of porridge accompanied by a relish (a thin stew) made of sour milk,* meat, fish, fruit or herbs. Crops like makonga (sorghum), mailapu (another red sorghum), nswe (a sweet reed like sugar cane), lukesha (finger millet) and makunda (a type of bean) seem to have been known but not extensively grown.

The sedentary habit of the Lozi is not only likely to have encouraged cultivation on soils annually renewed by the flood, but is supposed to have strengthened their control over neighbouring areas. The legend of Mboo (K1), constructing the first Nalikwanda to carry people during the flood to the margin and back again afterwards, is somewhat contradictory, but is likely to refer to an exceptionally high flood during which the Luyi were forced to seek refuge on the basin margins. As grain was by no means the main aspect of Lozi economy and only one type was universally grown, there was probably sufficient cultivable land within the basin. The number of true Lozi was also still relatively small and could easily

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* Under prevailing high temperatures milk does not keep fresh for very long without refrigeration. The Lozi seem to have allowed the milk to go fully sour so as to avoid indisposition from milk which is no longer fresh.

be accommodated on the highest mounds reached by only very exceptionally high floods. Thus settlement within the plain was practically permanent.

The variety of potential resources, diversity and contrast in adjoining micro-ecological regions increasingly fostered an exchange of goods apart from tribute. According to historians trade was carried on for greater security in organised fairs during the winter months. Long distance trade appears to have been less significant. Tribute and internal trade not only encouraged specialisation in crafts which, producing less bulky and more valuable goods, were more conducive to trade than garden produce, but also increased the production target of all goods and made targets flexible according to anticipated satisfaction of other wants through trade. Needless to say, wants grew with the variety of goods available. Trade, therefore, not only exchanged and dispersed tools and equipment but, with increasing demand, improved and spread also skills, industrial and agricultural techniques and crops, facilitated and stimulated more efficient exploitation of the resources in contrasting ecological regions, and consolidated the complex economic structure of Barotseland.

Early Lozi, then, appear as an alert, active, industrious people with a perception of the environment, a concept of its potential resources, and an aptitude in diplomacy, organisation and administration. They employed their competency well for political expediency

and shrewdly calculated the economic benefits it was going to yield.

The period between the reign of Ngombala (K6) to that of Mulambwa (K9) seems to have been a time of consolidation rather than innovation. The inflow of tribute slaves, - slaves brought back from repeated raids, remnants of people exterminated during warfare, and continued subordination of vassal tribes and intermarriage, all controlled by efficient organisation - resulted in the evolution of the core of the Lozi nation which according to Gluckman, falls into groups of common culture and language. The social structuring and class formation of slaves, serfs and freemen with a ruling aristocracy, a structure vital to the complex Barotse economy, also became very pronounced.

The king's surpemacy and control over the land was anchored in the belief in his divine ancestry, and the mediating functions of all dead kings between God, 'Nyambi', the creator and his people of the Lozi tribe. Royal ancestry worship with dispersed shrines throughout the country was, according to Gluckman, the fulcrum of the political system and cohesion of the central government. From his unique position as living representative of all mediators sprang, as it were, the Lozi king's obligation to provide for his people by securing arable land and building sites for individuals. The right to settle and 'own' land, whether Lozi or alien, could, moreover,

be granted in return for recognition of the King and one's obligation towards him.

Contrary to the notion of communal ownership of the land in Africa, Barotse law distinguishes between individual rights for arable land and building sites and communal holding of other resources which were less limited. Lozi rulers and members of the royal family had permanent individual title to land, which was frequently worked by national labour. Similarly, land allocated to individuals by the king and acknowledged by the recipient with the royal salute passed under the almost exclusive permanent control of that person and his subsequent chosen general heirs. Only if the land were abandoned or legitimate heirs could not be traced, which was highly unlikely, would it return to the king. A third category of land within the plain 'Land of the Title' was, temporarily but exclusively, under the control of office bearers who were title holders. Each major title estate included a portion of land set aside for the King and worked by the people of the area under the control of the primary land holder. It is obvious that though land within the basin was adequate to support the early inhabitants, control was exercised by the royal family and a small land-holding class which was limited in number by the availability of land once large tracts had been allocated. This resulted in a large number of people with no title to land, who, through mutual understanding

and abiding by mutual obligations, were able to work land individually on the estates of primary holders so long as they resided within the respective homestead. These so-called secondary and tertiary holders were entitled to dispose of their produce independently, provided they had met their obligations in gifts to the head of the homestead and contribution to communal activity.

Political control of the country rested with the king whose word was absolute while his power was secure. The National Council or Kuta rarely met in full. It consisted of indunas who were scattered throughout the kingdom as well as representatives resident at court. Exceptional occasions for which it was convened were the appointment of a new king and special considerations in foreign policies. The sub-councils or mats of the national assembly represented the various interest groups of the nation. The personal stewards and indunas on the sub-councils strengthened the king's power in relation to other members of the royal family. Offices and positions in the council were strictly hierarchical offering the members a chance of promotion in power and the attending privileges. Next to the kingship, but quite distinct from it, the office of Ngambela (Prime Minister) was the highest rank a commoner could attain. It was the Ngambela's duty to safeguard the interest of the nation against the power, designs and personal

interests of the king. Thus a Barotse saying runs,

> 'The king owns the land and the Ngambela owns the people'. 1

The Ngambela was also Chief Justice while the Natamoya, a sanctuary for those condemned, was the only Royal induna. Day to day affairs, including trials, were attended to, and executed by the representatives resident at court often in sub-councils, and presented to the king for ratification.

The right of any male descendant in patrilineal line of the Great Mbuyu to succession resulted, despite the murder of many eligible princes, in a large number of claimants. The practice of concealment of Royal Princes until the age of five was probably as much concerned with a need for their protection as with mystery surrounding their divine ancestry. Kings therefore, despite their absolute power, unless they commanded the support of the majority of the people, were quickly deposed. The tying up of indunas and drowning them in the Zambezi at the death of their ruler gave the King some assurance of their loyalty and counteracted insurrection through self-interest. Nevertheless, as history has shown, factional and succession disputes caused considerable political instability and even Mulambwa (K9) (1780 - 1830), who according to his long reign must have been a competent king, found it difficult towards the end of his time to quell the restive forces within the nation. Factional disputes frequently arose from the old neighbourhood

capitals, the original chieftancies before the unification of the Lozi. The right of succession of these Lozi Royals to the central kingship, and their ability to command support from the people in their area constituted an everpresent danger to the incumbent on the northern throne. For better organisation of the southern valley Ngombala (K6) founded Nalolo (Lwambi), the southern capital which ultimately posed the greatest threat. To secure his position against this most powerful rival, Sipopa (K12) instituted a Royal Princess as ruler of Lwambi (southern capital). Being a woman she could not aspire to the kingship in the north and her sons of matrilineal descent were excluded from succession. Thus the second capital with institutions identical to those in the north ensured the sovereignty of the ruler in the north.

The Makolo system which, as already mentioned, had developed from the early miniature Lozi states, seems to have been made more efficient by Yeta (K3) to afford greater protection as well as service to the central kingship. Contrary to Gluckman's assumption, Mainga postulates that a Sekolo (Makolo pl.) had a territorial base. As membership was by birth, or assigned by the king and lasted for life, a particular sekolo tended to be concentrated within a particular area, though mobility of the people scattered affiliated members of any sekolo throughout the entire kingdom. Thus some families and villages in the valley comprised men belonging to different

makolo with shades of differences in their aims, loyalties, politics and purpose. This scattering caused difficulty to any induna who might have planned to conspire against the king. But it was relatively easily overcome in the event of mobilising national forces for military or economic purposes. Depending on the task at hand all or one sekolo at a time were called into action for raids, hunts, fishing, canal digging, mound building or providing essentials such as salt. Every king was on accession entitled to create a new sekolo with its attendant indunas, who were entitled to take their place in the Kuta.

Administration and control of vassal tribes was a form of indirect government. Newly subjected people were territorially attached to a sekolo, though historic evidence has shown that Lozi kings did not always trust their full cooperation in case of emergency. The Chiefs of the newly acquired areas were allowed to remain in control of their people provided they acknowledge Lozi sovereignty through regular tribute and maketiso. To ensure the smooth execution of these obligations lindumeleti, appointed indunas, resided in the territory of the vassal tribe. Bertrand says that Lozi kings married wives from the various tribes who in times of tension were ambassadors to their own people, but being foreign and of commoner origin they were not entitled to hold office at court.

Divine origin of the king and members of the

Royal family was not only a road to power and entitlement to land, but elevated them into a distinguished social position. Indunas, though without special claims to royal ancestry but with special connections to the king, who could bestow office, power and land, could attain to similar ranks. Together this ruling aristocracy greatly contrasted not only with the vassal tribes, but with Lozi commoners for whom they were said to have had great contempt.

Maketiso and Lifungu were practices by which the Lozi controlled the strength of the subject people, acculturated young commoners and foreigners, and swelled their own power and supporters. Maketiso was instituted to recruit regularly young people from among the various subject tribes and, as Mainga says, it was the duty of the lindumeleti to see that it was done adequately and regularly. From among Lozi commoners the king or his representatives regularly chose bright, promising children. The young people were reportedly brought to court for education. In reality they formed a pool of servants and slaves though, some of them, if capable and trusted, could rise to high positions in the country. The king chose his indunas and Ngambela from among them. It appears, however, that the common people were conscious of this drain of their strength and resented the fact that through it the rulers not only secured their own dominant position, but also perpetuated control over

the subordinate people. This resentment may have been at the root of the low birthrate and infanticide practised among the Lozi. But these social practices may also have been related to the instability of marriage common among the Lozi. Coillard assumed that divorce rather followed childbirth because

'paternity was a misfortune'.

My own observation is that commoners like aristocrats and kings married to consolidate their family and influence. Once a child was born to them by any woman they remarried either polygamously or through divorce to continue the process of consolidation. Presumably because of the instability of marriage cattle were not paid as bride price, women were entitled to retain the right to land and storage in their home village, and land and a cow were given to each wife by her husband and reverted to him or the general heir in case of divorce or his death.

The majority of people brought into the ruling society by the above-mentioned practices as well as through raids in further-off regions and routing of competitive factions, were not all needed as personal attendants at court and were allocated to supporting <u>indunas</u>, swelling their number of supporters and labour force and thus indirectly the power of the king. Lozi frequently married some of the women. Coillard, for example, says that none of the chiefs would consider himself a chief unless he had a Kololo wife. But males as well as

females who were recruited, though unfree, could become adopted members of an extended family. They were allowed to cultivate land and to set up home within the confines of their overlord's property. It was their reciprocal duty to assist in the cultivation of the overlord's land before they attended to their own and to cooperate in all communal activities. Small individual family units were therefore the basic social labour unit of the village. Waddel commented on the population of the valley at the time of the arrival of the first missionaries as follows:

> 'The valley is dotted over with native villages, inhabited for the most part by lower tribes, chiefly Ma-Mubundas and Mangete (foreigners) with here and there a village of Barotsi aristocrats.' 2

Mainga describes the lilalanda (village) structure:

> 'The village headman was normally chosen with the approval of the king from the various family heads in the village. In the case of villages belonging to members of the royal family, the prince or princess was made the head of a number of unrelated families brought together by the order of the king to serve the prince. It was the duty of the village headman to see to it that life in his village ran smoothly. He presided over and settled minor individual and family disputes; he safeguarded every subject's rights, seeing to it that each individual and each family had enough land to meet their needs. His authority was binding because normally he was the most senior member of the community and, even more importantly, because he was appointed headman with the consent of all the villagers as represented by the various family heads.' 3

Gluckman mentions that villages may also consist of independent commoners, usually

> 'a core of agnates but frequently including matrilineal relatives and sometimes affines, with some servants and possibly strangers. But neighbouring homesteads are rarely related to one another by agnatic descent.' 4

He sums up the significance of the village in the following passage:

> 'The village is the centre from which they exploit gardens, pasturage, and fishing sites, and parcels of land are attached to the village headman's title and theoretically can only be used by his villagers. Everyone must reside in some village, and co-operates chiefly with fellow villagers. Because their bases are the "islands" in the flood plain, which provide the only dwelling sites, most Lozi villages have a permanent continuity dating far back into their history, and associated with the headman.' 5

Hermitte quotes Schapera's description of the Kololo Barotse relationship, he emphasises that it is also typical of upper/lower class relationships in the villages under Barotse rule:

> 'The rich man lends the inferior his cattle and gives or lends him and his wife clothes, but the poor man can leave the master and transfer his services to another, and all that can be done is to resume possession of the cattle and clothes. The poor man has his own garden, hut, etc. and eats his own produce, having the advantage of recourse to his master in case of need. The services rendered are assistance in sewing and preparing skins, in erecting cattle pens, in service in case of going to visit other towns, or in wars as squires. The wife assists the mistress in the same way.' 6

The ultimate preference for the location of a village on dry, flood-season mounds depended in all probability on the availability of domestic water supply. Coillard, in his selection of a mission site from among

the two offered to him, mentioned that water was a great distance from the first hill which was entirely given over to cultivation. With reference to the second offer which

> 'presented invaluable advantages for an establishment like ours'

he mentions a nearby village. The individual villages were isolated from one another by extensive swamps, miry marshes and drainage canals.

A group of villages or silalanda was under a silalanda head. He worked together with the village head, settled disputes between villages and represented them at the kuta of silalanda heads. Villagers were free to attend routine kuta sessions to which any complaints against silalanda heads could be forwarded. Attendance at meetings during which new legislation was to be announced was compulsory. Silalanda heads were also responsible for the organisation of communal labour and maintenance of communal services such as the canals which drained the gardens. Several silalanda in turn comprised the silalo which was under the direction of a resident induna directly appointed by the king and not necessarily from the area at all. The induna was given an official village to which he transferred his family and close relations. Besides the resident induna each silalo had a representative among the Makwambuyu members of the national kuta who visited the silalo occasionally, controlling local administration and acquainting himself with local affairs.

Through him appeals could be made and forwarded to the national kuta and king. Controlling the indunas who thus represented the silalo and makolo at court, and replacing suspects readily, the king held a tight reign over the far-flung nation.

It thus becomes clear that villages played a significant role in the political, social, and economic system of Barotseland. They were not only the smallest territorial, political, and economic unit, but were practically the only group of lateral cooperation with a leadership from within. However, even this integral community, despite its own leadership, was closely controlled by and apparently relied on firm central, if local, organisation. This coordinated organisation is apparent in communal hunting, fishing, raiding, canal building and cultivating the royal gardens.

Luyi tradition of absorbing other people and marrying from outside the tribe changed and expanded their own culture to such an extent that early explorers and missionaries frequently were unable to distinguish between true Luyi and adopted Lozinised practices. Luyi religious beliefs centred on 'Nyambe (God), round royal ancestor worship, and the conviction of the power and omnipotence of those dead and the care they bestowed on every Luyi wherever he was. Their faith was expressed in ritual ceremonies marking special events or requests for protection and assistance. But the traditional belief

was adulterated by Mbunda magic practices and divinisation. The significance of the adopted cult appears in the litaola, the mwati test and trial by boiling water. It is also generally believed by the people that Sipopa, despite his cruel practices, had remained king because of his close cooperation with two old diviners.

Lozi ceremonial playing, dancing and singing were closely related to their religion and kingship. Religious observances such as visiting royal graves, and ceremonies to mark the installation of a king were accompanied by singing, drumming and dancing. The presence of the king could always be told by the sound of drums which could be heard over long distances. Waddel once mentioned in his letters that the people drummed, danced and clapped hands before the king for hours in the night in order to obtain an ox.

The ritual voyages on the Nalikwanda accompanied and followed by boats of the people seem to have been part of Lozi tradition even before regular transhumance was practised. They clearly celebrated the arrival and retreat of the flood with which the entire life of the Lozi was closely bound up. Hermitte compares it to a festival of first fruits. The assimilation of Makololo women and children into the Lozi nation - frequently by marriage - was probably the most significant factor in the propagation of their language, a form of Sethoto, and its derivative Silozi, which became the lingua franca throughout Barotseland. Bertrand described the indigenous

house type, the kashendi, like the hull of a boat turned upside down. The walls resting on a base were of plaited black and white reeds under a pitched roof supported on poles with a small door on either side. He said that the conservative Barotse continued to build this way while others had adopted the Makololo house styles, the concentric rondavel, with an inner room and outer passage or verandah, covered by the cone-shaped roof of reeds extending over the passage to meet the outer mud-covered reed wall. Livingstone describes their small doors as being 19 by 22 inches high. These confined entrances probably offered protection against prowling animals, though Makololo women said the doors were so small

'to keep out the mice'.

For either house type reeds and clay were local materials, but timber poles had to be obtained from the forests on the plain margin.

The Lozi seem to have had some knowledge of weaving and spinning rough cotton cloth from locally found cotton. The processes were, however, laborious and most certainly slow, so that traditional indigenous dress consisted of skins rather than cloth. Men wore siziba, two skins joined by a narrow strip to pass between the legs and fastened around the waist. Women wore short kilts or cow hides. During warmer weather a circular cloak of lechwe skin reaching to the hips was common, but a long leather cloak down to the ankle, fastened at the throat and held together in front was worn during the cooler season.

Just as social traditions evolved through national consolidation, the economy of Barotseland was compounded into a complex system, which though closely related to the environment was possibly as sophisticated as any other system on the southern continent. Collecting of herbs, roots, fruits, insects, trapping wild birds, raiding, hunting, fishing, herding, cultivating and exchange were integral to the system. Though their relative importance can only be speculated on and interpolated, it appears that cultivation, apart from being the main concern of women, was confined to limited land on the basin floor. Crops, despite the spread of groundnuts (ndongo) and Bambara nuts (lituu) from the Totela system into Lozi economy were limited in variety and importance. It is therefore doubtful whether gardening played as significant a part in the early economy as we are often led to believe. Collecting had probably become incidental, a task for women and children in preparation for the daily diet. Coillard wrote during the famine of 1886 that the villages were deserted as everybody was in the bush gathering food, fishing or hunting. Herbs and roots were also sought after for tobacco. The significance of game and beef, as well as milk, in the food of the people is described by early travellers. Also the fact that cattle were the responsibility of the men indicates the degree of importance they had in the life of the people. Despite the interest Yeta (K3) is claimed to

have had in cattle management, it seems to have had little lasting effect upon the indigenous cattle which, however, developed an immunity to tick fever. Traditionally cattle were owned by members of the aristocracy. They entrusted them to the care of herders who were entitled to the use of milk and by herding the cattle on garden sites they manured their land. Raiding remained a very important, if irregular, element in Lozi economy, providing cattle as well as slaves. Men, too, were concerned with hunting and fishing. Though both were seasonal co-operate activities, they offered a reliable supplement on a smaller scale throughout the year.

Tribute from vassal tribes, gifts from subordinates to their overlords, as well as gifts among equals and to subordinates to attract friends and followers were not only significant for political cohesion of the people, but also constituted an important economic aspect. Tribute was representative of regional production* and tribal skill and though it was forwarded in recognition of Lozi overlordship the tribute-paying people received other goods, particularly cattle and fish, in return.

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* Product of the plains:	cattle, fish, sorghum, clay pots, mats, baskets, fish nets, reed fencing and some dug-outs.
Product of the forest:	game, honey, beeswax, wild animal meat and skins, wild fruit, tobacco, millet, iron goods, wooden utensils, dug-outs and paddles, building poles, drums, bark rope, firewood, baskets and mats, vegetable oils, wild cotton, a small amount of woven cloth.

Traditional exchange therefore constituted a peculiar form of trade throughout the kingdom and met the greater, more varied demands of the ruling class. But barter between the common people must not be underrated on the grounds that they had insufficient surplus. Accounts of early travellers and missionaries tell of the readiness of the people to sell their produce. Bertrand says:

> 'There was a famine in the district recently but M. Jalla was of great help in spreading the news that we wanted to purchase. Natives came long distances to sell their produce: millet, sorghum, maize, beans of various kinds, groundnuts, which they carried in calabashes slung over the shoulder at the end of a long staff.' 7

In years of average production therefore the people most certainly had calculated and aimed to achieve a surplus target to exchange it for other goods. Hermitte's argument that heavy produce is less likely to have entered into barter over long distances than tools and equipment because of the difficulty of transport over swampy terrain is highly probable. Local exchange of garden produce and fish within the plain was, however, common as a result of differential production according to sites.

The variety of goods produced in the kingdom probably exceeded any goods that might have been obtainable outside it. Thus there was no merit in long-distance external trade and exchange of goods from adjoining contrasting regions was largely confined to the valley. Mbunda living in present-day Angola claim some early trade

in beads and homespun cloth for cattle with the Lozi. With the arrival of Portuguese half-castes and their European goods, mainly cloth, crockery and beads, Mulambwa (K9) started trading their goods for cattle and fish through the Luvale. The quest of the mambari for slaves in exchange for their goods, it seems, precluded direct trade with them. The increase of external trade under the Kololos, who were prepared to deal in slaves in return for the guns they wanted, is equally an accident of history and hardly reflects enterprise of the people themselves. Traders from Southern Africa searching for ivory and other animal trophies travelled increasingly further inland and would sooner or later have reached Barotseland without the intervention of the Kololo who happened to have had contact with, or at least knowledge of, them in their home territory in the south. European clothes worn by the various Lozi kings and indunas as reported by Livingstone, Serpa Pinto, Holub and Coillard, as well as a variety of luxury items of European origin, suggest that the Lozi appreciated and traded for the 'better things of life'. Bertrand wrote that the display of his wares, white, blue, black necklaces and beads under a tree soon prompted the women, despite prevalent famine, to pound sorghum in preparation for bargaining. The Makololo's main concern in their external trade appears to have been weapons.

Greater demand for iron goods, wooden goods, baskets and mats, as a result of tribute, trade and barter

- all must have intensified specialisation in crafts as listed by Gluckman and described by early traders and missionaries. These industries may not have been highly developed by standards of western technology but craftsmen had acquired considerable perfection in their particular skills. The ruling Lozi, moreover, while claiming law and administration as their prerogative skill, seem to have been able to put their hand to any task. This is indicated in the annual reconstruction of the Nalikwanda by the king, and with reference to the entire Lozi people confirmed by Waddel, Coillard and others. Lozi possibly felt duty-bound to be able to put their hand to any task, though they may not have altogether excelled in it, so as to reflect their universal superiority over lower tribes. Several of the industries, apart from being carried out by subject tribes, were within pure Lozi society confined to the aristocracy, both men and women, who engaged in them as a type of leisure occupation, while commoners had the task of attending to the laborious tasks of cultivation and daily chores.

The allocation of economic resources to the family and village makes these communities - besides the centrally organised raids, hunts, and fishing - the most important labour units. The family forms in a way the smallest unit of production though division of labour by sexes, as already mentioned, was strictly adhered to for specific tasks. There were also emerging and growing

groups of part-time and full-time specialists. The former comprised most craftsmen who also engaged in other forms of production for their subsistence. The second group included musicians, court attendants, and an increasing number of bureaucrats all of whom had to be provided for by overall surplus production.

Contrary to Gluckman's repeated comments, the power/social/economic structure was closely linked to economic differentiation, which, prompted by superstitious motives, was not permitted to make itself manifest. In an overall absence of luxuries in either food, clothing or shelter, social differentiation was at first easily concealed, but singularly instrumental in the ascent to social status, power and control. Later, with greater penetration of European goods, a display of goods and higher living standards by subjects was considered treason.

Theoretically the pool of goods received by the King in tribute was to be redistributed to the people. The chain of movement of tribute goods was, however, a long one. The king's portion including items exclusively reserved for the king - referred to by Gluckman as 'kingly things' - was removed before distribution to the chiefs, and very little is likely to have trickled down to commoners. According to Mainga, moreover, there was no institutionalised redistribution during earlier reigns. The distribution of tribute goods by the king appears to have been rather a form of gift to select 'beggars' given at

the discretion of the king, rather than a source of food and provision for the poor in Lozi society. This assumption is supported by the large-scale substitution of ivory for other tribute goods at the time when this commodity was sought after by traders. The prevalence of stealing and thieving often remarked on by early visitors as well as Mulambwa's law which stated that a thief is a brave man and must not be put to death, but brought to the chief who will give him a village or cattle or make him his tribute collector, reflects the economic disparity that must have existed in the country in dangerous proportions to reach crisis point during Malambwa's reign and to warrant this law. Hermitte's argument that surplus production of secondary and tertiary holders working under primitive methods of technology was small and could not be much beyond their own requirement, is probable. The conclusion that they therefore transferred little in the form of 'gift' to their overlords, ruling out exploitation, is, however, not so obvious. Though the 'gifts' were small in keeping with their production Gluckman states that they were important and people would rather starve than neglect this social obligation. The greater contribution of the secondary and tertiary holders, moreover, was their share in communal activity in the primary interest of the landlord, who through this enjoyed a greater measure of leisure, was less likely to suffer want even when food was short and through gifts to his subjects and equals was

able to strengthen and increase his following and power. Thus it occurred that in years of famine which, through high floods and locusts, low floods, and war, were not infrequent, commoners went hungry while the aristocracy had cattle to bestow as gifts and grain to trade. The gifts of cattle bestowed on Westbeech and the young prince, as well as Coillard, for example, were made at a time when country and stock had been ravished by civil war in the wake of the battle which marked Lewanika's return to power. With luxury material goods universally unknown therefore, the economic social structure of Lozi society can hardly be called egalitarian and void of the 'profit motive'.

The very growth and ascendancy of the Lozi nation and kingdom seems to have borne the seeds of its own destruction. Mulambwa who, as already mentioned, had to contend with rivalry from within, which threatened the power of the king and the cohesion of the kingdom, embarked on what Hermitte calls

'a classic device of active foreign policy'[8]

to securehis position. He not only permitted Mbunda to settle permanently in his country and established them along the eastern edge of the flood plain to drive back the Andonyi - Luvale raiders while he moved the original inhabitants the Kwangwa over to the west, but, as Mainga notes, he set out deliberately to absorb them as an entity into the Lozi governmental/social structure. The process of Mbunda absorption posed problems later on in the

re-establishment of Lozi rule after the overthrow of the Makololo; but while they were being settled they contributed, internally, as well as in the battles they fought and won, to the power of the leading Lozi faction. Their mark on Lozi economy seems to have been more universal and lasting.

As bush cultivators, dependent on the soil to a much higher degree than the Lozi, the Mbunda had developed techniques, methods and crops which they could readily use with little modification along the basin margin. Whether they originally practised drainage cultivation in their homeland as stated by Hermitte or adopted it from the Kwangwa is of little consequence. Significant is the introduction of these garden systems and cultivation methods into the core of traditional Lozi economy and a start of greater exploitation of the land on the basin margin. Crops associated with Mbunda settlement are bulrush millet - a type of sugar cane (mangn) and cassava (mwanja). They may also have introduced the Livingstone potato (sikuswani) and finger millet (inkenda). Maize and sweet potatoes brought to Africa by Portuguese traders are also likely to have reached the area during this time. Maize quickly established itself as the staple grain of the Lozi while cassava afforded a good insurance crop.

There are at least two versions of oral tradition supporting Lozi claim that they have never been conquered. Mulambwa himself is said to have gone south east

to urge the Makololo to invade the plain, apparently in the hope that this would unite a strife-torn people, and Muswa a member of Mwanangono's rival faction after Mulambwa's death is also said to have encouraged the Makololo invasion. Whatever truth there may be in this, the Kololo invasion overtook the Lozi during the struggle for succession after Mulambwa's death. Mainga attributes Kololo settlement in the southern part of the kingdom to the fact that they were assisted in the occupation by Subiya and Tonga subjects who in their attempt to free themselves from Lozi dominance allied themselves to the Kololo. With the concentration of the Kololo in the Linyati swamps and southern half of the kingdom the Barotse economic system slackened though minor tribes continued to pay tribute to the new rulers. The economic as well as political/social systems disintegrated generally. On the other hand the malaria-ridden, mosquito-infested swamps severely impaired the health and strength of the conquerors, who had not acquired immunity against the fever in their South African home country. The disputing Lozi factions who had fled to the northern part of the kingdom retaliated and reconquered their country when the Makololo were not only emaciated by the fever, but also involved in succession disputes. The actual location of central control thus not only enabled the Lozi initially to strengthen their position, but was also advantageous in reasserting their power.

Gluckman postulates that Lozi who had fled north

during Kololo occupation, particularly the younger generation, adapted to bush cultivation - so much so that on their return south, after about 30 years, they were inclined to settle on the bushy plain margin rather than on the plain which used to be their permanent home. Apparently the majority of Lozi returned to their ancestral mounds only slowly and probably more for social than for economic and agricultural reasons. When they did return to the plain to continue their old economic activities and the social traditions some Lozi had become adept margin and bush cultivators with moist and dry margin gardens, heap and bush gardens, and most Lozi had acquired some knowledge of the new system. Thus it becomes obvious that some continued to work the margins during the floods and their initial short, very temporary, stays with the cattle along the margin became prolonged into a seasonal settlement devoted to cultivation as well as herding. Thus a consistent distinctive pattern of seasonal movement and transhumance seems to have evolved. From the Kololo the Lozi are said to have adapted the practice of castrating cattle. According to Coillard, Lozi attitude to cattle was indiscriminate with regard to slaughtering stock and replenishing depended entirely on raiding. According to a decree by Lewanika which forbade the sale of heifers to neighbouring tribes it appears, nevertheless that the Lozi had been influenced by the Makololo who never approved the slaughtering of cows and heifers as they were

the foundation of large herds. But otherwise methods of keeping and raising cattle appears to have changed little. Being pasturalists the Kololo had little direct influence upon the gardening systems of the Zambezi basin, but they are said to have introduced marijuana (cannabis sativa, called matokwani in Barotseland) which spread quickly throughout the population. Other innovations in the economic system included improvements in tanning which produced softer skins, a different way of making mats and the construction of pole and dagga huts. Better methods in shaping pottery brought about the making of a clay bin for storing food. A political gain from the Kololo occupation was the extension of Lozi control over the Nkoya empire by Mpololo the Kololo governor.

Population increase among the Lozi after their return to power in the plain and their limited land resources made margin settlement and cultivation among the true Lozi a more pronounced regular and permanent feature of their way of life. After the overthrow of the Kololo, margin land became therefore more desirable and sought after by the ruling class and was allotted by the king in strips at right angles stretching away from the plain, on very much the same basis as the mounds. Within this new environment the old social order based on land holding continued to prevail. Gluckman says that now three categories of Lozi could be distinguished:

a) the majority with a transhumant system;

b) a minority with permanent homes on the plain depending for seasonal shelter on friends living on the margin;

c) a considerable number living permanently on the margin.

Through this the new gardening systems of the plain margin were incorporated into Lozi economy. Lozi social and political structure moreover, which afforded greater labour resources derived from the slave and tribute system, facilitated this improvement and intensification of the systems. Drainage was not entirely new to them as major canals are supposed to have been dug under earlier kings. Thus with labour potential and efficient organisation by the village headman the system of drained gardens probably flourished temporarily more than ever before under earlier cultivators and its yields entering the economic system of the plain most certainly counteracted the rapid decline of game in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Kololo occupation did not, however, unite Lozi factions. The example of the decentralised Mbunda government and a more liberal, tolerant Kololo rule under Sebitswane towards selected Lozi indunas as well as the people in general had strengthened the dissention of dissatisfied aristocratic Lozi and had increased the desire of subject people for independence. The availability of more land through margin settlement, though allocated on the same basis as mounds, nevertheless made it possible for a greater number of Lozi commoners and lozinised

subjects to acquire land from the king and to set themselves up as free men which considerably weakened the Lozi political and economic system. The conservative Lozi faction marked by a determination to retain the old social/political/economic order, tentatively united most indunas and true Lozi and succeeded in appointing Sipopa (K12), who made the first attempts to reinstate the ideal Barotse kingdom. It appears that Sipopa and his successor, Mwanawina, largely lost their popularity and support through their abuse of the old Lozi rule and tradition - 'the king owns the land' - by claiming for their own exclusive private property the spoils and booty of the war against the Kololo and rivals in succession. To secure his power and control a little longer Sipopa planted colonies of Matoka and MaSubiya from around Sesheke where he had settled in the valley and raised them to positions of office and authority.

But only 14 years after the conquest over the Kololo in 1878 Lubosi, a grandson of the great Mulambwa, was chosen by the conservative faction to lead the nation. Lubosi had fled with his father Litia - who was involved in the conspiracy against Imasiku - to Sebitswane's court where he benefited from close observations. There he is likely to have first seen Livingstone and possibly become aware of Sebitswane's/Sekelutu's efforts to obtain British protection. Lubosi was not only - as missionaries, traders and colonial officers later testified - an

intelligent, alert, progressive person, but a loyal, proud Lozi who supported his predecessors as rightful kings. He was determined to retain Lozi tradition and to advance the interests of his people or maybe the ruling class, by adopting from outside what he deemed useful for this purpose. Lubosi and his supporters were aware that the primitive state had followed a policy and course of expansionism and selective absorption, and had grown largely to its strength and complexity through interaction from outside. If it was to grow or even survive, interaction would have to continue. Which way this was to come about, however, in the face of continued internal tension, Ndebele raids and European expansion was seriously debated among the leaders at the time.

During the early years of his reign Lubosi continued the process of re-establishment of Lozi society, structure, and nation from where Sipopa had left off. Most conspicuous among his efforts was the re-institution of the makolo system, perhaps more for his own security than for economic advantages, though practically simultaneously he mobilised the military forces for raids into the Tonga and Ila country. Besides supplying booty and slaves to revitalise the Lozi system the raids were to reconfirm Lozi supremacy over outlying territories. In the fringe areas, particularly to the east of the land which the Lozi claimed as part of their kingdom, lindumeleti had never been set up. But they were traditional

raiding grounds. Nor has it ever been established that the people in the northern Zambezi basin had ever been Lozi subjects, though Lewanika assumed this when he signed the concessions.

Westbeech, the trader settled by Sipopa at Patmatenga, continued to trade with the people in the plain, and Lubosi responded to his basic integrity and trusted him. This made Westbeech a respected ambassador of the white people and a greatly appreciated intermediary for the Lozi with the Ndebele. Above all, so it appears, Lubosi looked to him as a sincere, neutral adviser when it was difficult for him to trust his own people.

Selective absorption and assimilation was continued by admitting not only other indigenous people but also individual envoys, explorers and missionaries. Though their admittance depended on the mwati test and divining bones Lubosi confirmed later that these could hardly produce results against his wishes. The superior techniques of their weapons and the backing of great power necessitated in Lubosi's opinion greater discrimination and care in the selection and a definite control of their number. The fear of colonisation, it seems, partly persuaded Lubosi to go back on his word and to refuse the Jesuits entry when they arrived in full force to establish mission stations. Arnot on the other hand, who had not only arrived alone, but given away all his possessions trying to follow the life of the people as

much as he could, appears to have been as much accepted by the people as he was used. Despite Lubosi's comment

> 'Is that all? How can you teach my whole nation?'

to Coillard's reply that the missionary party comprised four white people, he carefully divided the missionaries between Sefula and Sesheke. Besides the strict control with which the Lozi permitted strangers to enter their realm they continued to watch suspiciously for ulterior motives - as Major Pinta had to experience - to safeguard their society, administration, influence and power.

Much of the literature on the Lozi gives little attention to the life and fate of the slaves, serfs, vassal tribes and Lozi commoners who must have constituted the greater proportion of the people. The ruling class considered especially the slaves, serfs and vassals fortunate because they were less involved in intertribal warfare for succession. Though vassal tribes who paid tribute should theoretically not have been molested, Lozi, while travelling and hunting, or whatever may have been the occasion, considered them their servants and abused them. Waddel told of the women of lower tribes who had come to sell their produce at the mission station only to be robbed by the prince and his associates residing there. Coillard reports of his travels through a Mangete (foreigner) village and the treatment his appointed guides gave to the defenceless villagers. He quotes Kalanga, a chief as saying:

> 'They (the Sesheke indunas) on a hunting trip passed like a cloud of locusts, leaving nothing behind them. We do not complain, they are our masters."

With such treatment and the constant drain of tribute and maketiso it is not surprising that these people probably assisted the Makololo. However, even this assertion did not seem to change their position very much as may be gathered from Livingstone's comment:

> 'No one refuses to acquiesce in the decision of the chief, as he has the power of life and death in his hands, and can enforce the law to that extent if he choses.' 9

The picture which Livingstone continues to paint of the common people is hardly the result of subjugation by the Kololo alone:

> 'All public movements here are made under stern compulsion. Only very few of the principal men would turn out to repel an invasion, the poorer classes would all succumb to the enemy. Even public demonstrations which are made at small trouble are yielded to by the body of actors with ill grace. They are forced to it. ... How can it be otherwise? All property is vested in the chief." 9

Contempt of Lozi aristocracy for commoners was rife after the overthrow of the Kololo and Lozi commoners also resisted the practice of Lifungu, saying:

> 'We are no longer slaves as we were under Makololo rule.'

Coillard makes several telling observations. Slave attendants of the princes, he says, do not consider the teaching given to be for themselves as well as the children of royalty, though selected serfs were sent by the king to

join the classes. This servile attitude, however, only prevailed while the king was actually exercising his power in the vicinity. Coillard laments the distant travels of the king because of the lawlessness during his absence. Vassal tribes at a distance refused repeatedly to attend to the needs of travellers at the request of the king unless they were actually forced into it. The commoners and subject people in the neighbourhood of Sefula refused also to send their children to the mission school on the grounds that they did not want to be serfs. In this atmosphere of resentment bordering on resignation Mataah, who gambled in personal politics, found willing ears and allies among the subject tribes. In 1884 a sudden uprising forced Lubosi into exile. His ex-Ngambela, traditionalist Lozi and the tribes under the southern capital, however, rallied round Lubosi and he returned, in what was probably the fiercest battle Barotseland ever saw, to his capital which was in utter ruins. His comeback and effort to unite the people was marked by the change of his name to Lewanika.

Lubosi's victory and the continuation of conservative policies were, paradoxically, only made possible by the intervention of mambari and McDonald with their guns. It almost appears to be a foreshadowing of what was to come. Coillard, in whom Lewanika saw first and foremost an ambassador of European countries and a supplier of European goods, had arrived during his exile. Thus, with Lewanika's return to power, there was, despite the apparent continuation of traditional rule and life, a turn in the tide of the history of Barotseland.

CHAPTER 1

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CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL CHANGES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF BAROTSELAND DURING THE COLONIAL ERA

Lewanika, as Lubosi became known after his return to the throne in 1885, continued to strengthen his control and power, reforming internal organisation and administration. He set up provincial Kutas at Sesheke, Kaunga, and Libonda, identical in structure to those at Lealui and Nalolo, which he put under the leadership of close relatives. The appointment of indunas to these Kutas remained with the central leadership. Thus Lewanika not only created a local form of government which kept a firmer control over local affairs and ensured through indirect administration his own supremacy, but he found scope for further promotion to office and, through this recruitment, he considerably increased his personal supporters among the newly chosen indunas. Indunas of the provincial courts, entitled to attend the national assembly for the decision of important matters, not only kept Lewanika in power, but supported some of his measures and decisions against the opposition of the northern traditionalists.

Though Lewanika, as Mainga rightly surmises, was concerned with safeguarding the traditions because it afforded him security, he appears conscious of the fact that his ancestors had temporarily strengthened their grip on the country and people by enlisting the help of

outsiders. Lewanika either seemed to overlook the long-term consequences of friction caused by such interaction, though his own reign was beset by tensions of consolidation initiated by some of his predecessors, or he accepted them as inevitable, necessary accompaniments, which eventually would ensure strength and stability. Historical developments had not only increased external threats from the Matabele, the Mambari, as well as from European expansion, but had also widened the spectrum of potential allies for Lewanika. Khama and Moremi proved trustworthy and loyal friends, but, as Lewanika had to experience, inadequate support in the face of Matabele raids or European scramble for Africa. It is not surprising therefore that in keeping with traditional Lozi diplomacy Lewanika opted for alliance with the greater, stronger force - Europe. Not only was it a stronger ally, but it had not yet started to compete with him, as the Matabele had done, for supremacy over the tributary territories of his kingdom. It was therefore his hope to learn from the white man, to win his support, and with it to achieve Matabele conquest, which would not only strengthen his personal position, but also expand Lozi power, influence and social structure, and make his nation equal to the forces spreading southwards from Europe over Africa.

Lewanika recognised that knowledge and education in the white man's ways was the first step to attain his goal. This he spelled out very clearly to Arnot who

first established formal schooling in Barotseland. On Coillard's arrival Lewanika's main concern was,

> 'How can you teach all my people?'

Under 'all my people' he understood, however, only those whom he had chosen to benefit from learning - princes and serfs who were to be cultivated and educated to take positions under him as his supporters. He was well aware that it was necessary to keep the masses illiterate if he was to retain absolute power and objected to Coillard's intention of teaching the common people. The heir to the throne and promising serfs were to learn as quickly and as much as possible. To achieve this Lewanika ordered the building of special huts at the mission station so that his protégés might live there, which in effect constituted the first boarding school in the country. The urgent desire to acquire the white man's knowledge was equally, if not more, apparent with regard to practical tasks. To learn for himself Lewanika frequently visited the workshop at Sefula where Waddell, who thus had ample opportunity to get to know the king, observed that Lewanika was not only

> 'the best Barotse statesman ... but also had a knowledge of the various woods and their qualities better than any of his people.'

But Waddell was irritated by the rate at which his apprentices were changed.

> 'No sooner had they attained some measure of skill and were beginning to be of service, than they were beguiled away by the king to be his master builders in Lealui.' 1

Lewanika on the other hand complained to Coillard that Waddell should have to do anything else but teach joinery to his people. His esteem of the practical skills and his recognition of their importance for his country can be judged from his words to Coillard:

> 'What can I do with Christians who only know how to read and write and pray to the God of the white man? What I want is carpenters, blacksmiths, armourers, masons and so on. That's what I want, industrial missionaries.'[2]

Clearly Lewanika's aim was that he and his people should match the knowledge and efficiency of the white man as quickly as possible.

It is therefore easy to understand that Lewanika began to imitate and match the activities of the missionaries and their attempts to improve conditions. Coillard describes how Lewanika copied their construction of a causeway between the mission station and the town and explains that the footbridge which was built at the canal joined the portion constructed by each of the parties. In the same way Lewanika emulated the canal construction revived by the missionaries. He ordered his team of men to excavate a canal which not only

> 'at the present time put the capital in communication with the river, but is continued through the hills and woods to the lakes and a little river, which will make a perpetual water course, while at the same time it drains the marshes and has changed them into fertile fields.' 3

Though canals had been constructed under earlier kings to improve transport and communication this was apparently the first large-scale enterprise of drainage and land

reclamation. By 1900 when formal schooling for the indigenous people was still unheard of in Northern Rhodesia, the schools of the Paris Mission Society in Barotseland had about 1000 pupils. But because of the relatively slow rate of progress and development, Lewanika permitted the establishment of the Ethiopian mission in 1904 which, however, could not meet either their promises or his expectations. Thus support for their work collapsed in turn. Lewanika obviously concentrated on mastering white knowledge and efficiency in order to regain his independence and acquire new strength as quickly as possible.

The acquisition of European luxury goods became not only - like some traditional items, including ivory and gnu tails - a measure of prestige, but also a means of winning and retaining friends and supporters. To Lewanika's advantage ivory and other animal trophies had taken the place of slaves for the purpose of exchange. As a result Lozi kings confirmed their monopoly over early prestige items which were sought after by foreign trade and made ivory, wild rubber, honey and beeswax a significant component of tribute. With these goods and the largest herd of cattle Lewanika was in a favourable position to trade and like Sipopa, he usually bought up all the traders had to offer. He, moreover, forbade individuals to trade privately with mambari and thus attempted to strengthen his own position as the source of prestige,

luxury and more sophisticated consumer goods. The missionaries too were not only teachers but, as several historians put it, superior traders who gave something for nothing. Coillard himself reports of the boycott and isolation of the missionaries instigated by Lewanika when they did not comply with his demands and conditions for the sale of goods on which their very livelihood depended.

But despite the tight control, or perhaps because of it, the ordinary people were also keen to trade and showed just as much cunning in their dealings as their king. Waddell writes of the people from whom they bought thatching grass,

> 'Our grass merchants are great cheats, putting reeds, sticks, green grass, and all manner of rubbish into the heart of their bundles. But after being deceived once or twice, we have got up to their dodges and make them undo their bundles.' 4

Payment by early missionaries for services rendered by lower tribes, though discouraged by the Lozi proper, further whetted the appetites of the subject people for a just reward, which was in sharp contrast to the forced services rendered to the ruling class and which according to Mainga had become an even greater burden by the end of the 19th century. In the daily transactions between the common people, traders, and missionaries a piece of material, usually calico, about 2yards, sufficient to be worn as a loin cloth and called a <u>siziba</u>, became the accepted unit of currency replacing the beads used for this purpose during the time of Sipopa. Better access to

luxury goods which probably were less since the death of Westbeech was the main reason for the more traditional indunas to agree to the signing of the Ware concession, a forerunner of the B.S.A.C. concession. Caplan suggests that the Lozi had lost control over outlying districts and the deal was therefore most profitable to the Lozi who traded what they no longer controlled. Mainga disputes this on the grounds that raiding and the reintroduction of tribute in goods and serfs after Lewanika's return to power had reconfirmed Lozi control over the out-lying areas. It appears that while the indunas may have been swayed to concede to the concession for material benefits, for Lewanika it was more a political move. Waddell stresses the fact that the king was steeped in Lozi history and it is more likely that he emulated yet again policies of his predecessors, settling and attempting to absorb white elements along marginal lands of his kingdom, particularly in an area where the Matabele threat was considerable. As Mulambwa, who had settled the Mbunda on the eastern margin of the plain, had benefited temporarily in internal politics and relations as well as by their assistance in defence, Lewanika presumably also hoped that it would bring about internal consolidation.

In his projects and plans Lewanika came to consider external trade as an important significant pillar. He therefore said to Coillard:

> 'What are the riches of a country? The riches of mine is ivory. But ivory diminishes every

> year; and when all the elephants in the country are exterminated, what shall I do?'[5]

Relying on ivory export only, he assessed the situation and prospects very well. In reply Coillard was probably the first adviser pointing toward the generation of wealth by the people rather than to prosper temporarily on methods of exploitation of natural resources. He pointed out to Lewanika that the land was fertile and that

> 'if the chiefs would give themselves up to the cultivation of cotton, tobacco, coffee, sugar cane, etc. they would soon find that it would be an inexhaustable source of riches for them.'[5]

Coillard's observation must have sprung from potential arable land he saw in the area, the relatively inefficient ways of cultivation practised, the fact that cultivation was almost entirely the domain of women and from the fact that subsistence crops were the main concern of cultivation whereas he saw potential for the production of the indigenous wild cotton and a type of sugar cane, already known among the people, as commercial cash crops.

Coillard himself had learned repeatedly that neither Lozi nor subject people were active workers. Thus he was hardly surprised when Lewanika said to him,

> 'Ah, everything is difficult with these people. If I speak of a field to be tilled, they grumble; of a house to be built - they grumble; of a hunting expedition - they grumble. They always grumble, they all grumble, they grumble at everything.' 6

The call of men to work at a task which was generally perceived as being the inferior work of women, was to meet with even greater resistance. Lewanika appears to have

taken Coillard's words literally. He not only worked with his son Litia in his own garden but tried to compel the indunas to do so. He also initiated an agricultural induna scheme.

For some time, the agricultural induna scheme seems to have been quite successful. Men were sent out from the capital, not only to organise the Royal gardens, but also to give advice on the cultivation of commoner land. The project was not so much concerned with innovations as efficiency in organisation, particularly timely planting and cultivating. This emphasis on the working of the land together with the greater amount of land that became available through extended drainage, the revitalised makolo system which provided communal labour, while village communities cooperated in communal services such as digging subsidiary drainage channels, increased production of the valley so significantly that the people came to believe famine was a thing of the past. The atmosphere of an agricultural revolution was favourable to the introduction of new seeds such as wheat, though few of them proved suitable for local conditions in the long run. The people also became more conscious of the value of wild fruits which were largely confined to the forest. Lewanika declared them to be specially protected, presumably to save them from destruction as increasing bush cultivation brought about forest clearance. Coillard pointed out the value of bananas, which, though the tree had been imported into the valley, had been regarded as

medicine rather than food. Despite the available labour pool, the expansion of acreage under cultivation must have been limited by shortage of labour during peak demand seasons, especially for the timely preparation of the land. Thus missionaries introduced the iron plough. Though there is no indication that ox-drawn wooden sledges were common among the Lozi - the difficult terrain had probably prevented such development - the people had become familiar with the ox-drawn wagons of the missionaries. Cattle, moreover, had for long been multi-purpose animals. Manuring of garden plots by penning the cattle in the area was common practice. Thus the switch to the use of cattle as a working animal was a fairly easy one though cost prevented the rapid dispersal of ploughs.

During the first years after Lewanika's return to the throne, when Lozi administration and social structure had been reconfirmed, prior to the concession which initiated colonial status, a second peak of Lozi political, social and economic organisation seems to have been reached. Raids had helped to define the limits of the country more clearly, re-established control over subject tribes, re-instituted tribute and slave labour, strengthened the central kingship, yielded a large number of cattle, and the pool of labour in the plain made cultivation, hunting and fishing more productive. European goods, largely obtained in return for ivory, rubber, or honey - products not used extensively by the early inhabitants - or cattle of which there were plenty, were highly appreciated

additions. The Lozi ruling class became not only strong, but could now also be distinguished by the luxury goods they acquired as Lewanika spread the new prestige items through the distributive system. All efforts on Lewanika's part, however, could not prevent a spin-off of the material benefits and, above all, a sense of contrasting values, spread also by the missionaries and their teaching to the subjugated serfs, slaves and Lozi commoners. This weakened the social hierarchical system and class structure on which the national economy rested. It threatened the security of the indunas who had perceived the influence of the white men and rightly interpreted greater, unchecked European influence as the death blow to their advantages, and realised that Lewanika's speculations for the best of two worlds would not be successful. Unrest within the country therefore grew stronger. Coillard reports Lewanika's direct confrontation with the indunas who told him that they would not accept him as a ruler if he became a 'slave' to the white man. There is no doubt as to the concept of a 'slave' among Lozi indunas who themselves ruled the lives of a great many people. The strain of external relations and personal politics told on Lewanika who was suffering greatly from neuralgia, the modern stress disease. Under duress he became more convinced that he needed the allegiance of the great Queen of England as protection against his own people. He acted speedily when in 1887, on a return from an unsuccessful hunting

trip, a sprinkling of the floor of his hut told him of the induna's attempts to get rid of him through witchcraft.

A proposal sprung unexpectedly upon his council in October 1888, presumably in the hope that the less prepared indunas would be more easy to handle, met, however, with surprise from Coillard and defeat from the traditionalist faction of the council. There is no account of further happenings which early in 1889 empowered Lewanika and willed Coillard to act on his behalf to petition British protection for the Barotse Nation. Communications were slow and the request reached the Colonial Office only by August of the same year. The reply of Shippard, the Administrator of Bechuanaland and Deputy High Commissioner to whom the request had been addressed was disappointing. It appears that H.M. Government found it convenient to abdicate control and administration of new prospective colonies in Africa to the British South Africa Company (B.S.A.C.) which - having

> 'men connected with it who are able to back it up with unlimited wealth'

and under the direction of C.J. Rhodes, a loyal British subject, intent on extending the Empire throughout Africa - ensured British interest in the most profitable ways. Rhodes' subsequent dealings with the Barotse people reveals a lack of knowledge of and interest in their country. Lochner, a representative of the company, arrived in Lealui by April 1890 with the concessions ready

to be signed in his attache case to 'negotiate the terms'. The absence of Lewanika's loyal indunas in pursuit of a fugitive potential rival of Lewanika and the long distance southern indunas had to travel to the capital delayed the discussions and National Council meeting until June 1890 when, during the 5-day council session, the papers of the concession were signed with only small modifications.

Despite Coillard's efforts to explain the meaning of the terms to the members of the National Council and his comment that Lewanika was sure to have understood them, the wording of the concession and underlying preconceived ideas of the B.S.A.C. make it doubtful that anyone, including Coillard, had grasped their full import. Though it assigns the 'sole, absolute, and exclusive and perpetual right and power' in listed activities 'over the whole of the territory' to 'Lochner, as the representative of the B.S.A.C.', it also states that Lewanika or his successors would not enter into any agreement or treaty with any other party,

> 'it being understood that this agreement shall be considered in the light of any treaty between my said Barotse nation and the Government of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria.' 7

Thus the terms and meaning of the concession and identity of the British Government and B.S.A.C. are confused.

But, even though Lochner had no right or power to enter upon treaties on behalf of the crown, the agreement as a whole had to be confirmed by the Secretary of State in terms of the Company's Charter, and the clause referring to a treaty with the British Government was not repudiated by him. Moreover, the telegram of successful negotiation sent by Lochner had not reached the Company director or Colonial Office when Britain, signing on July 1st, 1890, the Anglo-German agreement, yielded the Caprivi Strip, a part of the Barotse kingdom, to German control. On August 20th this was followed by a British/Portuguese agreement which, if ratified, would have sliced off the entire half of Barotseland west of the Zambezi.

Lewanika's concessions to the Company were as follows:

(A) To carry on any manufacturing, commercial or other trading business.

(B) To search for, dig, win and keep diamonds, gold, coal, oil, and all other precious stones, minerals, or substances.

(C) To construct, improve, equip, work, and manage public works, railways, tramways, roads, bridges, waterworks, lighting, and all other works and conveniences of general and public utility,

(D) To carry on the business of banking in all its branches.

(E) To buy, sell, refine, manipulate, mint, and deal in precious stone, specie, coin, and all other metals and minerals.

(F) To manufacture and import arms and ammunition of all kinds.

(G) To do all such things as are incidental or conducive to the exercise, attainment, or protection of all or any of the rights, powers and concessions hereby granted.[8]

The fact that Lewanika seemed prepared to yield his monopoly of trade which so far he had not only jealously guarded, but which had become part of the distributive system fostering national cohesion, indicates the value he ascribed to British Protection. However, most of the other aspects of the concession referred to new, so far little-used resources and ventures in Barotseland, and did not really seem to entail the loss of anything in the country until, it appears, Lewanika became aware of the consequences mining could have on his country. Immigration, apart from company personnel, was to be subject to the king's approval which was to prevent alienation of the land, and hunting rights were reserved to the Lozi. Thus the rights of the Lozi nation appeared to be safeguarded against interference by company projects and development. The company in turn promised protection against outside aggressors, and

> 'aid and assistance in the education and civilisation of the native subjects of the king, by the establishment, maintenance, and endowment of schools and industrial establishments

> and by the extension and equipment of telegraphs, and of regular services of postal and transport communications.' 9

Lewanika was to receive royalties of £2,000 'until such time as some amicable agreement is come to between the king and the company for its abolition.' The company was to place and maintain a British Resident at Lealui as evidence of the amicable relationship between the king and the company, but was not to interfere in any matter concerning the king's power and authority as Chief of the Nation, 'or any future extension thereof'. Particularly the last clause indicates that Lewanika had no intention of becoming in any way subject to an outside power, but that in his opinion he had entered upon a pact among equals which would strengthen his reign, help him to modernise his kingdon, in no way hinder him from further expansion and secure the position of his nation internationally.

After the signing of the concession an old induna speaking with the wisdom of experience, said 'the promises are fair enough, we shall see the effects'. Lewanika's pronouncement at the kuta some time later sums up his concept of the relationship of his people with Europeans.

> 'There are three types of white men: (1) those of the government; (2) the traders; (3) the missionaries. Those of the government, fear them, they have the power; the traders, eat them, for they have come to eat you; the missionaries, they are ours, they are our family.' 10

Though Rhodes apparently accepted the protection and control of Barotseland with alacrity, no evidence of precious or useful minerals had emanated from there and the company's disinterest in the country soon became apparent when no British representative arrived in Barotseland, the king's payments fell into arrears and development aid was conveniently forgotten for years to come.

Petty rivals for business, speculating for profit from development, used the ensuing years of quiet uncertainty not only to intensify factional friction but also to alienate Lewanika from Coillard and the missionaries to whom he had always looked for disinterested support, and to sow suspicion among the progressive elements in the country. These agitations prompted Lewanika, almost as soon as the concession was signed, to question and denounce the authority and identity of the B.S.A.C. and to re-assert his petitions to the British Government and appeals to the Queen herself for direct protection and support. Repeated letters and requests met with ignorant disinterest, typified by a communication from the Colonial Office to company directors that the promise of protection against outside aggression in return for mining rights without power of administration or control in Barotseland is undesirable and that steps should be taken to regularise the Company's position and powers for order and good government. Thus Matabele raids on

subject tribes continued and the threat of Matabele invasion of Loziland itself grew. In 1892, though the influence of white mischief makers had waned, factional tension culminated again in magic practices and divination which blamed the king himself for all ill fate, particularly the ravishing smallpox, which the military had contracted in their pursuit of Luanda chiefs. With his life again threatened Lewanika engaged in a campaign of terror to re-affirm his authority and control, even at the risk that it might damage his international reputation and label him a savage rather than a reputable ruler. In the absence of tangible support in internal and external problems, Lewanika probably gained in 1893 from the routing of the Matabele by the B.S.A.C., which not only eliminated the Matabele threat for Barotseland but illustrated to his people how the white man dealt with any resistance to their overriding control. Thus Lewanika's safety was somewhat secured until eventually in October 1897 Croyndon arrived in Lealui.

Ironically, in 1895 the British Government, responding to the Portuguese Government's fear that the B.S.A.C. was extending its control over the whole of Barotseland, was again considering the partitioning of the country down the Zambezi, a decision which only through intervention of the B.S.A.C., in self interest no doubt, was deferred until the country was better known. During the years of political uncertainty and tension the country

and people of Barotseland continued along the revived and intensified traditional economic course, which, as the inflow of slaves dried up, exerted greater strain and suppression upon slaves and subject people. Through contact with the B.S.A.C., people migrated increasingly to the southern labour market even though unfree dependents required the permission of their masters who in turn were entitled to the wages of slaves. Serfs and slaves therefore awaited the arrival of the British resident as eagerly as Lewanika and as much as the traditional indunas feared for their power.

By 1895 European control was established south of the Zambezi. Thus the interests of the colonising people moved into Barotseland and with them a new wave of white merchants, explorers and adventurers. Contrary to the agreement in the concession, they entered the country at various points testing again Lewanika's faith in the company and the deal he had signed. Moreover, the control of illegal white immigrants without the assistance of a British resident was a delicate matter and Lewanika did not want to provoke a military confrontation. In Coillard's opinion the handling of the whole situation by the B.S.A.C. appeared to be aimed at creating an incident which would justify military intervention and the seizing of the entire country by force. Eventually, to repeated requests from Lewanika, Croyndon arrived in September 1897 instructed to assure Lewanika of British Protection, to

investigate the objections Lewanika had brought up against the concessions he had signed, and to engineer new agreements to consolidate company control and draw up terms even more favourable to the company. Thus, less than a year after Coryndon's arrival, Lewanika held a meeting of his council at Victoria Falls, away from the security of his own capital. The modification of the 1889 concessions ensured the company's right to adjudicate all cases between white men and natives; it granted the company rights to allocate farm land to European immigrants approved by the king in the territory of the Batoka and Mashukulumbwe (Ila); and it reduced Lewanika's annual payment from $2,000 to £850. Lozi requests for a guarantee that the entire valley east of the Zambezi, which Lewanika considered the most important tribute region, would not be exploited for mining, were, however, not met and in turn Lozi representatives refused to sign the modified version. It was then included and signed in the order of 1900.

Stokes and Caplan discuss manipulations of the B.S.A.C. to obtain political and administrative control in Barotseland. I want to confine myself here to summing up political, economic, and social changes and attempts of the Lozi to adapt to them in order to throw some light on the economy of Barotseland today.

Growing political divisions in the Lozi ruling class were obscured and overruled by the British presence

which prevented dissatisfied factions from deposing the king in the traditional manner on the one hand, and necessitated alliance against a common adversary on the other. Eventually British administration controlled succession to the throne. Protection made Lewanika more and more dependent on company officials who also resented the educated progressive elite minority. Lewanika had little choice but to side with the most powerful, isolating himself more from his progressive supporters, leaning on company officials who thus found it easy to curtail his sovereignty. Indunas in outlying districts were effectively replaced by district officers. In short, the company governed by direct rule. In 1905 when arbitration by the king of Italy divided British and Portuguese colonial territory along the 22nd meridian thereby reducing Barotseland to the approximate size of France and cutting some of the subject tribes in half, all factions of the aristocracy tended to blame Lewanika for yielding without resistance to what was still considered a merchant company rule. Lewanika, it seems, was very conscious of his precarious position between Lozi factions and Company rule, alluding later on to the fact that all his grievances put before the company administration were met with,

'Do you want to be conquered?'.

Major A. St H. Gibbons who visited Barotseland in 1895 confirms this by saying that he calmed Lewanika's fear

with the assurance that

> 'if the Barotse behaved themselves they had nothing to fear, as it was only people who misbehaved, like the Matabele, against whom war was made.'*

Lewanika may thus have calculated that as long as he could maintain himself as king of Barotseland proper he would still succeed in his objectives. His sons, nephews, and court favourites whom he had sent to schools in England and South Africa were, no doubt, to assist him in this. In the meantime a western way and standard of living, with a show of superiority were his only means to demonstrate his position as king and command the continued loyalty and submission of his people. When Arnot visited Lealui in 1910 he found the king though old and tired

> 'still full of plans for the development of his country'. 12

Stokes, however, concludes that by 1911 Lewanika had effectively lost his governing power outside the immediate Lozi area, that he was no more than a figurehead in Loziland which had become a reserved area, and that in 1911 through the Order in Council which amalgamated North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia Barotseland became part of the

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* Gibbons arrived at Mongu ' to complete his map of Barotseland, to determine the geographical limits of Lewanika's country, to define the Congo/Zambezi watershed, to discover the main source of the Zambezi, to ascertain how far the Zambeiz could be utilised as a navigable waterway, and finally to furnish Rhodes with such information about the country as might help in selecting a route for the projected trans-continental railway'. 11

colonial entity of Northern Rhodesia. Thus even transfer of administration from the B.S.A.C. to the Crown in 1924 was little consolation to the Lozi rulers who continued to assert their claim of independence under British Protection beyond the days of Colonial administration.

Apart from political changes wage labour, cattle sales and labour migrants, afforded a relatively high, satisfactory standard of living during this period of transition, though the local economy began steadily if imperceptibly to be affected. It is highly probable that growing resentment to unpaid labour services among the dependents, as well as a decline in tribute on the one hand, and a growing variety of goods offered by traders and demanded by the royals as a status symbol on the other hand, prompted Lewanika to substitute a monetary tax for tribute. The suggestion was readily taken up by company administration as a convenient way of introducing tax apayble to the B.S.A.C. In 1904 a hut or poll tax of 10s was levied in the outlying districts on every male above the age of 18 and each of his wives after the first. Refusal to pay was dealt with severely in Batokaland. Contrary to Lewanika's judgement the collection was in 1906 extended over the whole of Barotseland proper. Lewanika's share in the tax was effectively reduced to 10% of the levy, of which no more than £1,200 was to be paid to the king and National Council as tribute substitute to be shared out among members of the royal family and governing class. The remaining portion of the 10% was to

be used for the

> 'benefit of (your) people, in building schools or improving the villages, or making roads or in any other way that is good and useful for the natives'. 13

No mention seems to be made of the 90% which must have remained from the total takings reported as £17,307 in 1910/11[14] and £33,000 in 1907.[15] The only significant benefit accruing from the tax to the Lozi people was the Barotse National School started in 1906. Despite the school's benefit to the Lozi ruling class the Litunga remarked later that the fund benefited no-one except the whites employed by the institution.

Lewanika's personal compensation comprising the royalty of £850 initially agreed on, £310 of the hut tax and various licence fees, ivory and cattle sales, amounting in all to over £4,100, appears to have been a considerable sum, but had to support a large number of people at an acceptable standard of living. Apart from the indunas' portion of the £1,200 tax fund, the outflow of the distributive system seemed to become severely curtailed. Also hospitality at court is said to have suffered. Some voluntary, if less regular, material tribute did, however, continue to come in for quite some time right up to 1940. The share of the indunas in the tax fund was minimal and amounted to little more than a few shillings with most of the minor indunas receiving nothing at all. Petty chiefs therefore derived their only income from fines imposed on offenders which were now in the form of

money rather than in kind, or from additional payments from the company administration for services rendered such as assistance in tax collecting. Lozi commoners and dependents received now less from the distributive system than ever before.

With the introduction of poll tax Lozi indunas would have become liable to pay for their dependents and slaves. Considering their unwillingness to work for no pay, material returns for tax expenses were low. Thus slavery was probably abolished not so much at the request of colonial administration as in the interests of the ruling class. Regulations controlling the free movement of people within the country were to ensure that the serfs who had been freed continued to work in the homestead and on the land of their former master. Only the king himself was entitled to twelve-day service from each of his subjects to carry out public work and certain services. The understanding of this regulation varied, however, with place and distance from the administrative centres. The king himself understood it to manipulate the free service in any way profitable to him to the extent of substituting a payment of 2/6 for it, while indunas were completely deprived of any communal labour in their gardens. This reduced production considerably. In the outlying districts, on the other hand, only a nominal number of people came forward to render the twelve-day free service to the king and the indunas adopted the Kololo practice of beer

parties as compensation for communal activities. In every part of the country, moreover, a number of people, through force of habit or gratitude, continued to live the way of dependent subjects to the extent of remitting wages to their masters from their distant work place. Large numbers of people, however, particularly those brought in from Tonga and Ila country during the last raids before company administration, returned home. Others who according to the regulations were entitled to leave the homestead of their present master or who were able to pay the £2 fee to obtain the right of free movement, obtained land from Lewanika and set themselves up independently. At the same time new immigrants came from Portuguese territory who, according to Lozi practice and tradition, were granted land to settle. New settlers, except for recognising Lewanika's sovereignty, were not only independent of the ruling class, but avoided paying poll tax, changing their name annually to take repeated advantage of tax exemption. Some 'Wiko' immigrants did, for very low wages, work the gardens of wealthy Lozi. Hermitte reports that in the mid 1920s there were several hundred Wiko labourers which, however, compares poorly with the thousands of serfs and slaves who became free.

Labour migration was not really new to Barotseland: it was integral to the indigenous economic system. Thus Lozi commoners and Lozinised subject people, to enable them to share in Western material goods and partly to meet

tax requirements, readily moved to the labour markets of Katanga, South Africa and Rhodesia. According to Coillard the first migrants went to South African mines before 1889 but their numbers increased rapidly towards the turn of the century. In 1901 over three thousand Barotse were recruited to work in Southern Rhodesia alone. This average annual recruitment seemed to continue for a number of years. In 1916 recruitment for Katanga reached a peak of 2500. Great numbers, particularly those who left the second time, found work independent of recruitment agencies which gave them greater choice in the type and place of work. Hermitte estimates that after 1914 about 45% of the male population were absent as migrant labour. Not only did many of these settle permanently in the areas to which they had migrated, but many lost their lives in mine accidents and unhealthy, unsanitary conditions. The death rate of Barotse in Southern Rhodesian mines up to 1920 reached 138 per thousand and the Congo reported in 1916/17 over 250 per thousand. This drain of manpower and its attendant under-development in the kingdom by no means escaped the king and council. Caplan cites that Wallace, the Acting Administrator, addressing the Kuta on August 11th 1909, replied to the Ngambela's request to create more work for the people in the country by stating that Lozi 'boys' had to continue to seek work on the line of rail or south of the Zambezi. Similarly, petitions that educated Lozi might be accepted by the company into administrative

positions within the company framework were disregarded and followed by blatent discrimination in employment to prevent the infiltration of Lozi interests into company policies and to keep the Lozi in a subordinate position.

Since cultivation was largely the work of women, crop production apparently continued, not only for subsistence but also to meet the demands of colonial and mission institutions. Hermitte points out that in 1919 internal demand for grain at Mongu alone was for 500,000 pounds of meal at 8/- to 12/6 per 200 lb bag. The demand was met by women using traditional methods of cultivation. Development at Livingstone, the point of entrance into present-day Zambia, also created an external market for produce, mainly grain to which particularly cultivators in the Sesheke area responded. Forest cultivation with 'slash and burn' technique and the growing of drought-resistant cassava were given new impetus by newly immigrated 'Wikos' but, as Hermitte concludes, per capita production remained the same. Nevertheless, overall production which had provided for a local surplus and covered the needs of a relatively large sector of bureaucracy declined with the abolition of slavery, communal services, and increasing migration. Some of the former primary land holders attempted to work their land and maintain production by introducing sharecropping. A similar practice of lending out cattle for herding was traditional and continued to be practised, though Van Horn mentions that the

use of milk - which was formerly the prerogative of the herder - reverted, with new prospects for profit from sale, to the owner. But as every man was entitled to land of his own, sharecropping did not prove successful. The termination of communal working of land ousted the influence of the king, members of aristocracy, and primary land holders in overall arable production. With the educated and more enterprising men having gone away there was nobody to fill the local vacuum in trend setting in arable production, and Lewanika's attempts were very much isolated individual efforts which no longer exerted pressure upon national production. Nevertheless he approached the

> 'administration in 1905 for experienced horticulturalists and gardeners to train Lozi in improved agricultural techniques'. 16

At the same time he ordered American disc ploughs to compensate for the loss of labour and to maintain production in the royal gardens. Some of the royal gardens had been developed as vegetable production units to supply Livingstone and European settlers with fresh vegetables. High costs prevented, however, an early large-scale introduction of ploughs and could thus not avoid a proportionate all-round decline in production. Cattle, moreover, were also judged according to changed sets of values. Financial returns from their sales made it no longer profitable to use them for social investment. The drain on the number of able-bodied men also affected communal hunting and fishing, and must have reduced the casual daily

contribution of these activities towards living costs. The last game drive organised by the King was, according to Clay, in 1913. Restrictions on communal activities curtailed communal resources so that the outflow of the distributive system was severely reduced. Distribution of food which was integral to the early social, political and economic system therefore declined greatly.

Already during the late 1890s, when rinderpest had swept through most of the South African continent, Barotseland had become the main supplier of cattle for areas to the south where colonial enterprise developed. Lewanika then passed a law which made it illegal to sell heifers on the grounds that they would provide more cattle for their neighbours. With the building of the railway in Northern Rhodesia and growing activities on the copper-belt, the cattle trade, at £4 to £6 a head, provided the bulk income for Barotseland. Stirke reports that to protect the Lozi against themselves an export quota of cattle was laid down for Barotseland. This quota basis not only limited income for the Lozi through trade and thus encouraged labour migration to South Africa, but it also safeguarded the growing market in beef on the copper-belt for the expatriate farmers who had settled in Ila and Tonga country along the railway. With the introduction of bovine pleuropneumonia from Angola in 1914 the cattle trade suffered severely. Caplan suggests that the distrust of the indunas and Kuta towards the white administration hindered eradication of the disease. This may

have been so. But it does not rule out Hermitte's conclusion that any attempts to do so were so half-hearted and ineffective that they promoted distrust and intensified resistance to any suggestions and measures introduced as outbreaks recurred at a later stage. In 1918 Barotseland was effectively cut off by the disease from profitable trade, and, to safeguard cattle farmers along the railway against epidemic outbreaks of bovine pleuropneumonia, which appeared to become endemic in Barotseland, all further export to more lucrative markets was stopped officially in 1921. Export of cattle to Angola, where the disease was endemic, remained the only outlet for cattle which survived the epidemics.

Despite the readiness of the Lozi people to sell their produce profitably and to enter into the money economy indigenous enterprises showed up very slowly. Initially this may have been restrained by the king's monopoly over imported goods and the concept that western consumer goods and durables were 'kingly things' and bound up with social status. Though Lewanika had abdicated his monopoly over trade to the B.S.A.C., he nevertheless retained claim to 50% of the fee for trading licences. Hermitte stresses that early British legislation did not allow Africans to operate as businessmen. Above all, initial capital to invest in trade was scarce and even with increased income from migrant labour wages a large proportion of it was swallowed up by daily requirements particularly for investment in social relations.

Lewanika himself again showed drive and vision. He was aware of his country's immaterial and invisible assets and exports. By 1905 he had established royal enterprises for the hire of canoes and haulage of goods, he had licensed ferries on the Zambezi and he had set up craft stores and a model village of handicraft makers to attract tourists at the Zambezi. Craft stores sold also ivory, hippo skins, gnu tails, etc. - goods which were traditionally reserved to the royal family.

More capital-intensive trade, buying up cattle from the local people and offering western goods for sale provided the field of the European traders who increased from 16 in 1906 to 43 in 1912. With the slump in the cattle trade, most of the traders left, leaving over 1000 Barotse who had been employed as carriers, paddlers, store hands and out-of-work herders. Government employment of paddlers and carriers reaching 2067 in 1916 cushioned the effect of the decline in the cattle trade somewhat and with the flow of migrant labour wages the number of store keepers increased again. But as most of the wealth in Barotseland at this time stemmed from remittances, increasing numbers left in search of employment in distant labour markets. Thus the outbreak of bovine pleuropneumonia in 1914 marks a second stage in the intensification of labour migration.

Among all other activities Lewanika appears to have been preoccupied with the improvement of transport and communications which had figured prominently in the

concession he had signed. When no improvements came forth he was determined to set up a waggon road between Lealui and Kazungula. For this purpose he instructed Mokalapa in 1904 to buy

> '14 waggons, 3004 boats, 3 carriages and a scotch cart'. 17

Unfortunately Mokalapa was swindled out of the £700 which Lewanika had given him for that purpose. The building of the main railway from Rhodesia to the Copperbelt, by-passing Barotseland and leaving it as a backwater at a great distance, became apparent in 1905 and must have sealed Lewanika's disillusionment with company administration. His main concern according to Van Horn was to establish a direct and inexpensive route to Livingstone to facilitate the marketing of Lozi produce there. For this purpose he tried again to set up a transport scheme with Simpson which by 1911/12 was said to have become a hopeless muddle.

The most universal change in the economy of Barotseland during this period, brought about by tax demands, cattle sales, and labour wages, was the common use of money which rapidly replaced the seziba in all transactions and also put all exchange among the indigenous people on a commercial footing.

Political and economic changes during this time were accompanied by social adaptations which with hind-sight had probably the most far-reaching and lasting consequences. The abolition of slavery created a new society

of free men equal in status to free Lozi commoners of the past, leaving a vacuum in the social ranks of dependents. Schooling and formal education advocated by the missionaries for all was, on the one hand, an equalising factor which eroded the old distinction of free and subject peoples, but it initiated on the other hand a new minority elite which in the early stages, still relatively compliant with autocratic rule, intent on attaining distinguishing material benefits, entered into the paid employment of traders, the missions, or government in or outside the country. The levy of a hut tax on additional wives after the first to be paid by the husband, though dropped again in 1928, led to greater prevalence of monogamy, a larger number of unmarried women and increasing prostitution. Lewanika recognised that excessive drinking, which through Kololo occupation seems to have been popularised, was a potential danger to the people and his plans and he prohibited not only the import of alcoholic drinks but also the drinking of local brew.

Probably one of the most pronounced social imports into Barotseland was a sense of inferiority implanted by the humiliations and maltreatment of people at every level. Accounts of early travellers and missionaries, particularly Coillard, show that the Lozi, from the king to the humblest woman, knew no feeling of inferiority in the presence of the white men though they may have regarded them and their ways with wonder. Company rule, however, once established, not only deprived him of his title

as king, but also lowered him in rank to that of his subordinate chiefs. Minor chiefs, like their master, not only lost all their dependent serfs on whom their social status and material well-being had rested, but their overall direct administration of the people was checked and thus they were condemned to the position of an impoverished élite. Particularly after 1906 Lyons, the resident magistrate, worked actively to destroy the remaining cohesion of the traditional structure which otherwise might have adapted more gradually. Yeta (K17) remarked

> 'As we are the rulers of this country we should have the power and authority to govern our people and to control their rights to land and to control their movements thereon.' 18

The educated elite of the traditional ruling class posed a threat to direct company rule. Labelled as

> 'half-educated school boys'

they were meted out special contempt. With the collection of the hut tax, particularly, the general public was subjected to treatment which at times was less than human. Men who opted for material benefits, found through employment in the distant mines, not only deprived the local community of their enterprising element, but were subjected to even greater humiliations in their new surroundings. A miner writing at the turn of the 20th century states categorically that

> 'white men will never do any good for the sake of black man, but they would rather like to see him always down.' 19

In 1914 Lewanika flinched under the degrading attitude of colonial rule which rejected his men at the outbreak of World War I to serve as soldiers. He showed the metal he himself was made of in the following lines:

> 'Seeing my men cannot render service in a European warfare, I pray the Government to accept my service in a Two Hundred Pound Sterling as a material support.' 20

Unfortunately, it seems that, after the more spirited element of the Lozi people which resented the feudal atmosphere of their country as much as white arrogance was siphoned off, those who remained bowed to both. Thus it appears that the dismantling of traditional social structure without provision, or even the possibility, for reassembling its elements in situ, led to a disintegration of the society more profound than mere labour migration might suggest. This disintegration promoted the collapse of the national economy from within just as did pressures from without.

With Lewanika's death and Yeta's accession supported by the British administration in 1916 the traditionalist faction lost yet another strategy. After the accession, the educated élite made another determined stand to oust company rule, to bring back the passing traditional glory of the Lozi kingdom and to set it on a true course for modernisation. This partly and temporarily united the factions. The years of education in South Africa had acquainted the aspiring rulers with future prospects of white domination, and innate aristocratic leadership stirred them into a form of reactionary nationalism

to which the people responded, effectively promoting a Barotse National Government to challenge company administration.

Repeated requests from Yeta and his followers expressed the need for modernisation and development and the hope for constitutional changes with direct administration by the crown as the surest route to material benefits and advantages. But all Lozi efforts to reassert themselves were treated and dismissed by company administration as unwarranted, ill-advised impertinence, and were ignored lest disputes with the Lozi wrecked company rights acquired by the concession. The petitions for material improvements within the country and particularly for the impoverished ruling class were convenient proof of the king's and aristocracy's insatiable desire and the maintenance of an unjustifiable luxurious life style. The only satisfactory outcome to the petitions was the eventual transfer to direct colonial rule in 1924. This, however, did not bring, as the Barotse National Government had hoped, the cancellation of the concession and restore Lozi control and influence outside their immediate reserved area. Nevertheless, the attitude of Stanley, the first Governor of Barotseland, to indirect rule which upheld the status of traditional tribal rulers, prompted some hope for the ruling class. Accordingly the National Government was recognised as the senior native authority. This hope of effective rule was, however, according to

Caplan, quickly replaced by stark realism. Continued requests for the full amount of the 10% hut tax were satisfied in 1925 by allocating 30% of the Barotseland tax instead of 10% of the tax from North Western Rhodesia as a whole. Traditional rulers not only accepted monetary compensation for traditional social control and co-operation, but further entrenched earlier traits of demonstrating superiority by material advantages.

Though the final clamp down on tribal authority came only in 1935 when, in return for a loan to pay for his debts, the king surrendered the last vestiges of traditional control, the ruling factions, Lozi aristocracy and the general common public had capitulated by the middle of the 1920s. Recognising that their persistent requests achieved nothing they had settled down to the status quo. The traditional faction and mass of people who had suffered greatly during the years of depression when migrants returned and local wage labour was scarce, resigned themselves, however, with considerable misgivings against the ruling faction from which they had now become completely isolated and turned against the king who carried the accumulated blame of a ruler. The king and ruling faction on their part tried to continue to live along the lines of the luxurious, comfortable standard they had set up to proclaim their superiority, thereby aggravating both the colonial administration and the common people. In 1935 the Barotse National Government was formally and officially recognised as the 'Native Authority' of Barotse Province. Appointment and dismissals of

indunas was henceforth subject to the colonial government's approval. Native Courts were formed and indunas lost the revenue of fines for petty crimes they had continued to try. A Native Treasury was to combine and manage the King's revenues and Barotse Trust Fund under white administration.

According to Northern Rhodesia Legislation Council debates in 1936:

> 'the Governor in the first place (had the power) to direct that an order shall be issued which he thinks the Native Authority ought to issue but has not issued; and in the second place it gives the Governor the power to revoke an order by the Native Authority ... The only qualification that is put in is to say that he (the Governor) must have the ordinary manners to consult the Paramount Chief before he does so.' 21

Not only did District Commissioners have similar powers to

> 'suspend, reduce, annul or otherwise modify any sentence of a Native court' 21

but according to Caplan they did so freely and frequently. The Lozi had not only to accept that Lewanika's plan and scheming had gone wrong, but with the amalgamation of their country with the rest of Northern Rhodesia fears which had first surfaced before company rule came to an end - that their country and people might be subject to white rule in South Africa and Rhodesia - became again prevalent. The Nkoya demanded greater freedom from Lozi overrule and Van Horn points out that there was a widening gap between Lozi élite and commoners as well as between Lozi and members of other tribal groups. Investigations into the political association of the Batovale district -

the Lunda and Luvale people - with Barotseland, initiated in 1938, culminated in the excision of the district from the province and gave blatant evidence of the collapse of Lozi power. The coup which was rumoured to have been planned during Yeta's absence in Europe in 1938 was, according to Caplan, a personal bid for power rather than an expression of dissatisfaction with the colonial administration.

The change of administration in 1924 threw new light on the economic plight of Barotseland which in the words of the resident magistrate, Richard Hall, the Company had

> 'left as its monument of one of the most neglected territories in Africa'. 22

Though Yeta could no longer freely command unpaid labour, he nevertheless had the exclusive right over large-scale game and fish resources and was able to persuade men to cooperate in their exploitation for a share in the spoils. Based on these he planned a hunting and fishing scheme to supply food to the line of rail.

Lewanika's initiative in the souvenir and tourist industry was taken up by chief Mwene Kandala who established an export business of curios and craft products to South Africa and promoted it in personal travels with samples, visiting Livingstone, Johannesburg, Durban and other cities. British administration encouraged such efforts and activities but made no attempts at innovation or large-scale development. Some African hawkers

began to exchange western products for curios which in turn they sold at Livingstone. Difficulties in obtaining goods at wholesale prices retarded the growth of indigenous retailers and hawkers after their first appearance in 1929. Goods bought wholesale at Livingstone had to be carried to the valley at great cost. For the same reason goods within the valley could only be obtained at retail prices. Thus African retailers could only operate by buying from retailers and selling with a mark-up of 1d or 2d in more remote areas. Thus developed a state of affairs by 1940 in which one European trader supplied several hundred African hawkers a month; this not only limited the profit margin for the African retailer but also increased costs for the consumer. Indigenous traders had had the additional difficulty of overcoming the prejudice of their compatriots who considered Africans inferior as distributors of imported goods. Hermitte reports that by 1938 African-run stores numbered 23 and hawkers' licences 134. The introduction of small coins ($\frac{1}{2}$d and 1d) promoted small-scale internal transactions. Fish became increasingly prominent in local trade.

The greater variety of goods gave rise to new service industries varying from shoe and bicycle to watch and gun repairs. Hermitte mentions the existence of a cinema-show enterprise, which, however, could not survive the competition of 'hotels' where women provided food, drink and entertainment. Mongu and Kalabo, centres to

which migrant payment had been transferred, are said to have had 16 'hotels' in 1931. Facilities at the pay centres were sponsored by the king and royal family, but service settlements along labour routes were inhabited by 'Wiko' (foreigners), Mbunda, Luvale and Lunchaze, who had immigrated from Angola after 1915. In 1940 the British counted 4000 - 6000 men travelling monthly along the major labour routes to South Africa and Rhodesia. Men leaving, usually had enough food and no money to spend, but those returning, particularly if a large portion of their wages had already been paid, were usually laden with goods and presents and felt inclined to celebrate along the route. Porterage in return for high fees provided a regular income for some Lozi. Lozi women continued their cunning tricks of producing husbands who claimed damages the morning after travellers had been seduced. Despite low wages, averaging £1 a month, returning migrant labourers after a period of absence of about 3 years had an appreciable sum of money. But travel and transport expenses and the urge to celebrate the return consumed it very quickly.

The introduction of the plough prompted yet another kind of business enterprise. Though some owners continued to assist friends and the extended family members for social investment on a basis of reciprocity, a number hired their services at a rate of 10/-sh per field. Investment returns on a plough costing £3 to £5 could

thus be substantial. But the prime period for preparing the fields was short and limited the number of fields a man could plough.

Not only new techniques such as ploughing, but also the preference for imported goods such as hoes affected local crafts. Imported ironware was inferior to locally produced goods, but much cheaper than local craftsmen could produce it. In general imported goods regardless of inferior quality were considered superior to local craft products. Thus low return on crafts as well as the somewhat dirty work of craftsmen like blacksmiths, which was considered as inferior to migrant wage labour, militated against the expansion of crafts. Moreover, with the growing number of migrant labourers, locally produced goods such as fishing nets were not only no longer available, but the skills necessary to make them were increasingly lost.

Despite migration the population of Barotseland appears to have increased, especially within the valley where people tended to concentrate in the vicinity of white establishments, but also along the bush margin through 'Wiko' immigration. In the absence of other economic activities, agricultural activities largely dependent on traditional methods with low yields had become the backbone of local economy. But land within these areas was in short supply. Thus periods of cultivation along the margin were extended from 4 to 7 years causing more serious depletion of the soil and destruction of the bush. In contrast sishanjo gardens declined in importance probably as a result of labour shortage and

deterioration of the state and feeder canals which drained the land. In the later 1930s colonial administration earmarked £200 for cleaning of the main canal. Trapnell and Clothier found in 1937 that sitapa gardens located in abandoned water courses along the Zambezi were not being cultivated while forest soils around the plain showed serious signs of deterioration. Labour shortage and the greater risk of flooding of sitapa land were probably the main reason for the neglect.

Any surplus money or savings migrant labourers converted into cattle. As they were rarely members of the traditional cattle-owning society of Barotseland they seemed at last to have reached the status of and equality with the ancient aristocracy and, simultaneously it seems, they introduced into the country some of the 'cattle complex' characteristics prevalent today. The introduction of the plough made grain cultivation easier and emphasised again grain production at the cost of cassava so that arable production became again more susceptible to the vagaries of the climatic elements. Large quantities of cassava imported from the Lunda district into the Zambezi valley probably obscured local shortages for a considerable length of time. Ploughing with oxen was the work of men and thus brought about a redistribution of labour between the sexes which, considering the widespread absence of men, was not conducive towards either expansion or intensification of agriculture. Above all there was a

vacuum in the overall direction of production which in the past through communal cultivation had spearheaded changes. Primary landholders had lost their influence and the high rate of migration left no-one with sufficient drive and initiative to fill the gap.

Labour migration grew markedly stronger. Not only were traditional crafts and agriculture considered inferior, but as a missionary complained in 1930:

> 'the very young is keen to learn, but when he sees that learning does not produce immediate pecuniary gain he appears to think that a few shillings in the hand are worth all education in Barotse and off he goes to Livingstone or other labour centres.' 23

The extension of the railway from South Africa through Botswana, Southern Rhodesia into Northern Rhodesia made movement between labour centres and Barotseland easier and is likely to have encouraged independent labour migrants. During the depression of the 1930s demand for labour dropped considerably, many returned, and economic and social relationships in Barotseland were for the first time subject to world economic pressures. With the passing of the depression migration picked up again, especially through the almost immediate establishment of W.N.L.A., a recruitment agency for South African mines, in 1936. Caplan reports that in 1927 50% of the male population of the Nalolo District were away as labour migrants and almost all of the remaining 50% were at home resting and preparing to leave again.

A marked injection into the Barotse economy came

in 1931 with saw milling in the hardwood forests to the south-east of the valley. The enterprise employed approximately 2,400 Barotse and paid royalty to King Yeta. Despite its individual significance, it made little overall impact because the number it employed was insignificant compared with the droves of men leaving regularly for work, and financial benefits accrued mainly to the king.

The privileged position of Barotseland and her rulers in the Native Authority machinery of Northern Rhodesia was, moreover, paid for in considerably less aid investment by the British in social services and amenities. Even after a subsidy towards fund activities in the 1930s, expenditure on education per head in Barotseland in 1938 was 4.34d compared with 7.8d for the rest of Northern Rhodesia.

After the king had been stripped of all his executive power, and control of the treasury had come under British administration, colonial rulers could no longer ignore the state of Barotseland's economy altogether. But British attitude towards agricultural development, summed up in the following comment by a colonial officer, was almost defeatist.

> 'In Barotseland, where the soil is for the most part poor and transport facilities so bad there is little hope of establishing anything in the way of a farming industry. The wealth and the industrial future of the Barotse lie mainly in their cattle.' 24

Such pessimism ignored the aspirations of the indigenous people who attempted to exploit any opportunities but were

rebuffed by difficulties in market organisation, transport, and limitations of traditional farming, tools and methods. Caplan states that local Government officials were generally agreed that transport was the critical underlying problem which one official expressed as follows:

> 'Experimenting with crops should remain in abeyance until transport facilities exist.'[25]

But as little was done with regard to transport even less was done to improve agricultural production. Members of the Pim-Milligan Commission who visited Barotseland briefly in 1937 stated eventually that the necessary improvement which was to retain the tribal structure

> 'can only be achieved by a slow and careful process within the framework of the Barotse system. Expenses can gradually be cut down as existing officials die and by the combination of indunas' courts. At the same time, there is no doubt that Barotseland does stand in need of financial assistance from outside. There is much educational as well as health and veterinary work to be done and no resources at present in Barotseland to pay for it ... It is not possible to acquiesce in the continuance of the present stagnation. Efforts should be made and money provided by the government to deal with the more urgent requirements.' 26

The attitude of improving conditions by saving money which underlies the whole process of underdevelopment promoted by the B.S.A.C. is still apparent in this report, but it is also admitted that investments larger than any Barotseland could muster were necessary to improve the conditions. Thus a grant of £28,201 made by the Colonial Development Fund in London in 1936 was used to

initiate a full-scale campaign against bovine pleuro-pneumonia culminating in massive slaughter as well as inoculations in 1938. Hermitte reports that the campaign was still in progress in 1940 and revived some hopes for Barotseland's cattle industry. In the years gone by, however, beef production by expatriate farmers along the railway in Southern and Northern Rhodesia had increased. The great distance between Barotseland and the beef markets with no transport facilities and the surplus in the railway areas made it therefore unlikely that cattle production in the Zambezi valley could get off to a rapid start.

Arable farming, on the other hand, provoked little interest in local government authorities. The mid-thirties saw the start of the building of the road from Mongu to the line of rail linking up with road and rail service in Lusaka to the Copperbelt and the south. The combined fund of the treasury, while substantial - amounting to £13,444 in 1938, ten times greater than the revenues of the Bemba and Tonga who had the next richest treasury in Northern Rhodesia - made little impact through wages paid to carriers, paddlers, messengers and clerks and cash purchases of locally produced goods. Incentives for commerce and industry were few beyond a general encouragement of indigenous entrepreneurs. Thus the end of the decade before World War II saw the culmination of a steady process of underdevelopment in place of the modernisation Lewanika had desired for his nation.

Hermitte quite correctly concludes that the

termination of the cattle trade through pleuropneumonia did not conspicuously disrupt the existing economy. It did, however, prevent the development of a locally based wealth-generating process as a substitute for hunting and raiding. Increasing reliance on migration made the country almost entirely dependent on outside finances. Barotseland was therefore increasingly drained of human resources and did not generate sufficient capital to support investment beyond daily requirements. Through lack of scope for whatever financial surplus may have accrued, any savings were invested in cattle. Depositing his cattle with a friend or relative for herding made the migrant superior to the herder. With excessive dependence on migrant wages the country and people became highly susceptible to the pressures and changes of the international economy without having had a substantial share of the profits.

The move towards a market economy through labour migration was therefore less beneficial than Hermitte would have it. Arable production may, as he concludes, have continued along the traditional pattern, but increasing shortages were hardly only the result of poor seasons. It should be remembered that retrogression in agriculture was relative rather than absolute. The relative decline was particularly conspicuous in the lack of intensification of farming and the continued low per capita production. Considering that the surplus of communal production, which not only supported the traditional political system but

had provided for the royal, aristocratic bureaucracy, had disappeared. Growing numbers of Lozi swelled by migrants who returned temporarily and bought food rather than produced it for themselves, shared in the subsistence production of those who continued to live by traditional farming methods. Traditional cultivation by women was the main source for cash sale to Europeans in the area. During good seasons their demand could be met by surplus production, but in poor years supply was insufficient. In 1928 the European traders, missionaries, government officials and labour recruiting agencies at Mongu bought over 4,600 bags of grain which they had to collect from all districts of Barotseland. In 1930 the more favourable weather produced sufficient local surplus to meet British demands. Cash sale of food grown for subsistence was therefore in poor seasons a universal cause of food shortage and in any year may have affected local supplies anywhere considerably.

The wide range of productive, economic activities such as raiding, herding, fishing, hunting, and collecting which comprised the complex economic system of Barotseland had clearly been greatly affected. Many of the activities had frequently been carried out simultaneously in many different distant locations which had required large numbers of people. The abolition of slave labour and serfdom, and the introduction of labour migration drained the labour resources required for these

economic activities and thus limited the quantity, range and variety of food products. Gluckman also points out that with the introduction of rifles and firearms the netting, trapping and spearing of game, wild fowl, and edible reptiles became less common. The use of fire arms not only reduced the number of game and other resources more rapidly but conversely made the acquisition of game meat dependent on guns and ammunition. The overall decrease in the variety and quantity of food products placed therefore more emphasis than ever before on limited agricultural production.

Early attitudes of slaves, serfs and Lozi commoners to aristocratic overlordship and feudalism, and their response to opportunities created by white settlement as mentioned in this chapter do not support Caplan's assessment that

> 'the majority of Lozi had no great expectation from life'. 27

Though Lozi are said to have a target mentality, which is probably true, they differed little in this from most successful businessmen, as targets are always determined by the range of opportunities available. Hermitte concludes that

> 'the average commoner had the interest in improving his material welfare but did not visualise the possibility or desire to become a capitalist businessman.' 28

In his 'Economic History' he cites, however, examples of Lozi business enterprises and the great difficulties confronting those engaging in them. Early missionaries and

travellers, particularly Coillard and his wife, remark repeatedly on the shrewd profiteering of the common people. Bertrand likens the Lozi to the Jewish element among the indigenous people of Africa. Early political and feudal domination was tolerated by subject people and commoners in preference to continuous raiding and destruction. Later labour migrants left in swarms precisely because their country could not offer them the opportunity to acquire the material benefits they desired. Thus company and crown administration not only disillusioned Lozi rulers and antagonised the traditional faction but also frustrated the hopes of the masses of people. Lozi society, weakened by migration, not only accepted colonial decision and control with mute resignation but also adopted a stoic attitude of mistrust. Hall, the resident magistrate, found in 1927 that Lozi commoners, who Jalla said distrusted all white men, refused to cooperate in an investigation into the country's economic malaise.

During the same investigation the ruling class laid all responsibility for development at the door of the government and the young people stated:

> 'Since the crown has succeeded the Chartered Company we have seen no improvement worth mentioning. We hear no one speak of a railway to Barotseland for cheaper transport. We have seen no work undertaken for the benefit of the country or to help the people to earn money without going far away from their homes. What is our good trying to improve or increase the produce of our gardens? ... Transport is so expensive that it does not pay to send anything to Livingstone for sale. Why should the government not help to transport our produce to Livingstone? ...' 29

Social disintegration and changes accompanied the economic plight. Stirke writes already in 1922 that lepers were no longer segregated and suggests that this lapse was probably more due to a spirit of fatalism than anything else. Gluckman and Peters observed social adaptation to changed economic conditions. The old practice that every wife prepared a full meal every day in case her husband should come and participate was replaced by the rule that the wife take it in turn to cook for the entire family; husband, wives and all children, which Gluckman postulated was to avoid wastage of food. Returning migrant labourers vented their disrespect for traditional rulers and contempt for colonial authorities. Both king and government agents tried to combat this with emphasis on discipline in schools, but it was difficult to contain and as Hermitte says tended to separate the families and diminish their significance as an integrative institution. Gluckman explains the advantages of the young and the stress it was likely to have exerted upon relationships, but he surmised that their hope to return to the valley during spells of unemployment and for retirement helped to maintain a balance. The complex cohesion of Lozi village society, intertwining kinship relations and coordinated status seem to have given them elasticity. Migrants, it seems, were strongly bound by the former while they scorned the latter. In 1955 Gluckman wrote,

> 'The Lozi disapprove of any irremediable breaking of relationships. For them it

> is a supreme value that villages should remain united, kinsfolk and families and kinship groups should not separate.' 30

But he also states,

> 'Lozi society on the whole is still a society dominated internally by status rather than contract.' 31

The criteria of Lozi status, however, had undergone change. Ownership of land and political position were no longer the only status determinants; earning capacity and knowledge of new skills were prestigious, and teachers, clerks as well as skilled artisans commanded special respect and formed the nucleus of an emerging middle class.

The new minority élite who had some formal education and training and stayed on in Barotseland seemed for quite some time content with their relative material advantages until, prior to World War II, they organised themselves into African Welfare Society groups which Lozi migrants had earlier helped to form in the urban centres of Northern Rhodesia. The needs, poverty, disappointment and frustrations of the common people found perhaps even greater expression in the Watchtower Sect movement. Hermitte notes that the new religion, with its teaching of the imminent end of the material world, was at the height of popularity during the 1931/35 years of depression. But surveillance by the native and colonial government ensured that its influence remained mainly spiritual. Despite the apparent entrenchment of tradition, old values and practices, such as sacrificing at

royal graves, were eroded away. The whole state of Barotseland was often referred to by colonials as 'The Living Museum'. It was however a caricature of the ancient state rather than a true-to-life portrayal of old values and traditions. Though Gluckman remarks by 1941 on the apparent harmonious cooperation of Lozi and European in all aspects of life,he clearly comments on the dominant position of the whites.

> 'They are administrators, employers, and skilled workers, traders, with a higher standard of living than the Lozi.' 32

Thus despite the control Lewanika had hoped to exercise on immigration into Barotseland, whites not only reinforced the traditional class division but introduced a racial connotation into it.

By the late 1930s the processes of political paralysis and economic underdevelopment of Barotseland were, as can be concluded from what has been said so far, completed. King Yeta's illness and World War II interrupted any attempts at improvement or reconstruction. Remaining able-bodied men were, moreover, called into service. The long initiated process of underdevelopment may, as Hermitte deduces, have been accentuated by the attitude of peasants that terms of payment for wage labour were better than production of low-priced foods for local consumption. Poor seasons, too, reduced yields and production considerably. Fluctuation in production had, however, been a common phenomenon in Lozi economy throughout the years of consolidation of Lozi history. But poor

crops had generally been compensated for by successful hunting and large catches of fish because early high floods, which had disastrous effects upon crops, produced ample fish later on. Considering the very rapid and alarming decrease in food within only a few years, Gluckman recognised that 1940, when according to his reports Barotseland had an abundance of food, was probably a year favourable for all-round optimum production. Since

> 'bad years were not so bad before',

he concluded in 1955 that

> 'it seems definite that there has been a steady and increasing decline in productivity.' 33

The post-war economy of Barotseland is summed up by Caplan as follows:

> 'Peasant farms were producing barely enough crops for their own subsistence. Employment opportunities for both the skilled and unskilled remained minimal. The extent of labour migration was such that many villages were literally left with only women, children and old men.' 34

Obviously the state of affairs in the country was critical and it appears that vigorous attempts were made to bring about the development and improvements which had been anticipated before the war. But as Caplan puts it,

> 'new administrative reforms proved too little too late, and were largely irrelevant in terms of the real political demands of the postwar era, while the development scheme created expectations which never had the resources - financial or human - to fulfil.' 35

Caplan further analyses the personal and international political intrigue ensuing in postwar years which

essentially consolidated and entrenched the state of the economy. Administrative reform centred again on reducing costs by further purging the ruling class of minor indunas and to ensure that all the members of the Barotse National Govermment.

> 'will have a definite job of valuable work to do'.

To democratise the government groups of representatives of non-Lozi tribes in the valley and of the educated middle class were to participate in the National government. Not only did both measures meet with fierce opposition from the ruling class and traditionalists, but, ignored in the Kuta and forbidden by the colonial powers to voice anti-European sentiments, the newly formed Katengo council was ineffective as an advisory council and did not satisfy the politically dispossessed middle class which demanded more and more share in the running of Barotse national affairs. Greater attention to this popular claim would have proved very advantageous for the country in the long run.

Economic reform was to spring from a Development Centre at Namushakende south of Sefula established in 1947 with Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. The refusal of the Kuta to sign the lease of land for the experiment indicates the hardening of mistrust towards the Colonial Government with which the king and Ngambela were suspected of conspiring. This suspicion and mistrust was bound to affect negatively any future outcome of the venture.

Despite colonial intentions to persuade Lozi rulers into changes Glennie reported soon that in the face of conservative opposition action had to be taken which isolated three-quarters of the indunas from the king. Abrupt and unexpected obstruction to any economic or political progress came, however, from the sudden death of Imwiko (K18) officially as the result of a stroke but, according to rumours, through poisoning at the behest of Mwanawina who aspired to the kingship. Though Mwanawina was not the choice of government officials, he was elected by an overwhelming majority of the BNG in the hope that he would impede reforms. Eventually he superceded any of the previous Lozi rulers in demonstrating his superiority and power by affluence and luxury. Having strengthened his own personal position he further colluded with Colonial administration against the wishes and interest of his people.

Though within months after the accession Mwanawina drew up his petition to the Government to repeat the claim and grievances of his predecessors, it clearly omitted the request to secede from the Colonial territory of Northern Rhodesia and to be granted Protectorate status. He asked for greater rights and freedom for the ruling class. This apparently once again united all the factions of Lozi aristocracy which had been greatly affected by postwar reforms. But the almost simultaneous purge of the Kuta of members outside his immediate family protracted

through years of internecine political conflict resulted in even greater alienation. By 1951 all more distantly related royalists, who nevertheless had a right to succession, had with their supporters been eliminated from the BNG.

Fees from Zambezi sawmills and labour migration had swelled the treasury by 1951 to over £102,000, most of which paid salaries of the members of the BNG and helped to maintain Lealui. Otherwise economic stagnation continued to worry colonial administration, but the hope of winning the king's support against threatening forces of rising African Nationalism and in favour of a federated Northern and Southern Rhodesia advised against interfering in the internal administration of the Barotse Province. Instead Mwanawina was made an offer to be granted 'Protectorate' status for Barotseland as discussion of a federation was initiated. Despite adamant, universal Lozi hostility towards any alignment with white rule, Mwanawina agreed in April 1953 to participate as a Protectorate in a Federation which was to guarantee the rights of Lewanika's concession constitutionally. His compliance made it easier to compel other tribal authorities.

The agreement roused the antagonism of all Lozi against the king; particularly the middle class began to speak up from the Katenga, and from organisations such as that of African Welfare, both in and outside the country. Apart from collusion with the whites, the composition of

the Kuta and the abuse of material resources and power by the king for his own personal advantage were fiercely attacked. Spokesmen such as Sekeli Konosi and the Zaza brothers who advocated a reform of the kingship and the introduction of democratic control to safeguard the rights of the people rather than a revolutionary abolition of traditional rule attracted a large following of people. Central Government, more anxious than ever before to retain what they considered to be traditional authority, capable of commanding the respect of the rural population and of maintaining traditional stability not only acquiesced in the prosecution and imprisonment of the middle class leaders, but supplied detectives to prevent any reorganisation and activation of the dissatisfied critics of Lozi conservatism. The mobilisation of these forces was, however, brought about by non-Lozi members of the banned Zambian African National Congress who in 1959 were exiled in Barotseland Protectorate. At the end of their period of restriction these so-called radicals could count upon the dedicated support of the African middle class - teachers, clerks, storekeepers - in Mongu, Senanga, and Sesheke. The murder of Akashambatwa Imwiko, son of the late Imwiko and possibly a threat to Mwanwina whom the Nationalists accused of the crime, further polarised politics and united temporarily progressives and conservatives in the country.

Mwanawina retaliated by banning the United

Independence Party (led by Kenneth Kaunda) from Barotseland and to safeguard perpetuity of his policy and rule in the country he requested by August 1960 secession of Barotseland from Northern Rhodesia. Barotseland was by this time, however, economically completely dependent on the rest of Northern Rhodesia. Moreover, having incurred the antagonism of urban Lozi and African Nationalists the British Government could not risk offending UNIP by agreeing to the separation. By 1964 the leaders of UNIP - in order to speed up transference of power from colonial authority to African rulers - agreed that Barotse Province was to receive special consideration within an independent Zambia. Britain however, was only witness not party to this agreement. Thus the king, who may have believed that the status quo would continue within his country and under his rule, fell now directly under the control of the Central Government of Zambia.

CHAPTER 2

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PART II

A DETAILED STUDY OF
A CONFINED VILLAGE NEIGHBOURHOOD
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
NASITOKO, NANYANDO AND NAMBOMA

CHAPTER 3

PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AREA

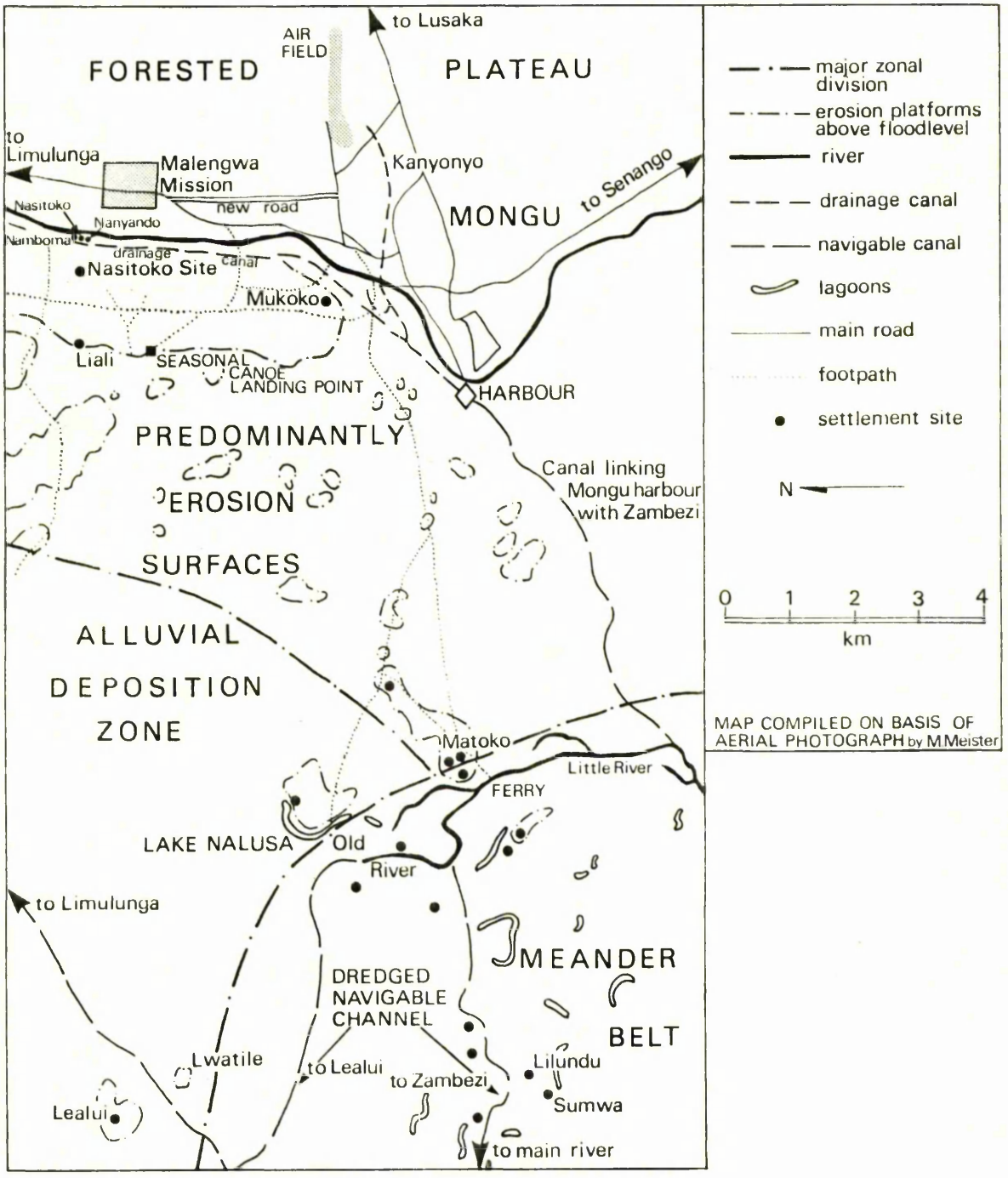
Nanyando, Nasitoko and Namboma, three traditional villages on the Zambezi floodplain margin in the Western Province lie approximately 4 km north of Mongu the Provincial capital (see Fig. 2) at a geographical position 23^{o} 8' E, 15^{o} 13' S. Situated centrally on the eastern floodplain margin the consecutive almost adjoining villages are only 11 km from both Lealui, the traditional dry-season capital due west, and Limulunga, the traditional flood-season capital due north.

Relief and Structure

According to Dixey (1944; 1950) the sandstone plateau of the Western Province surrounding the Zambezi floodplain and averaging 900 - 1000 m in altitude is a Pliocene erosion surface composed of Kalahari sandstone. The Zambezi, rising in the seasonally high rainfall border ranges between north-western Zambia and Zaire, has carved a new floodplain now 190 km long and 40 km at its widest. Held back by volcanic intrusive rock south of Senanga the river must at some time in the past have formed a lake. The rising flood waves of the river and lake also gradually lowered sandstone hills of interfluves which in turn during

FIG. 2

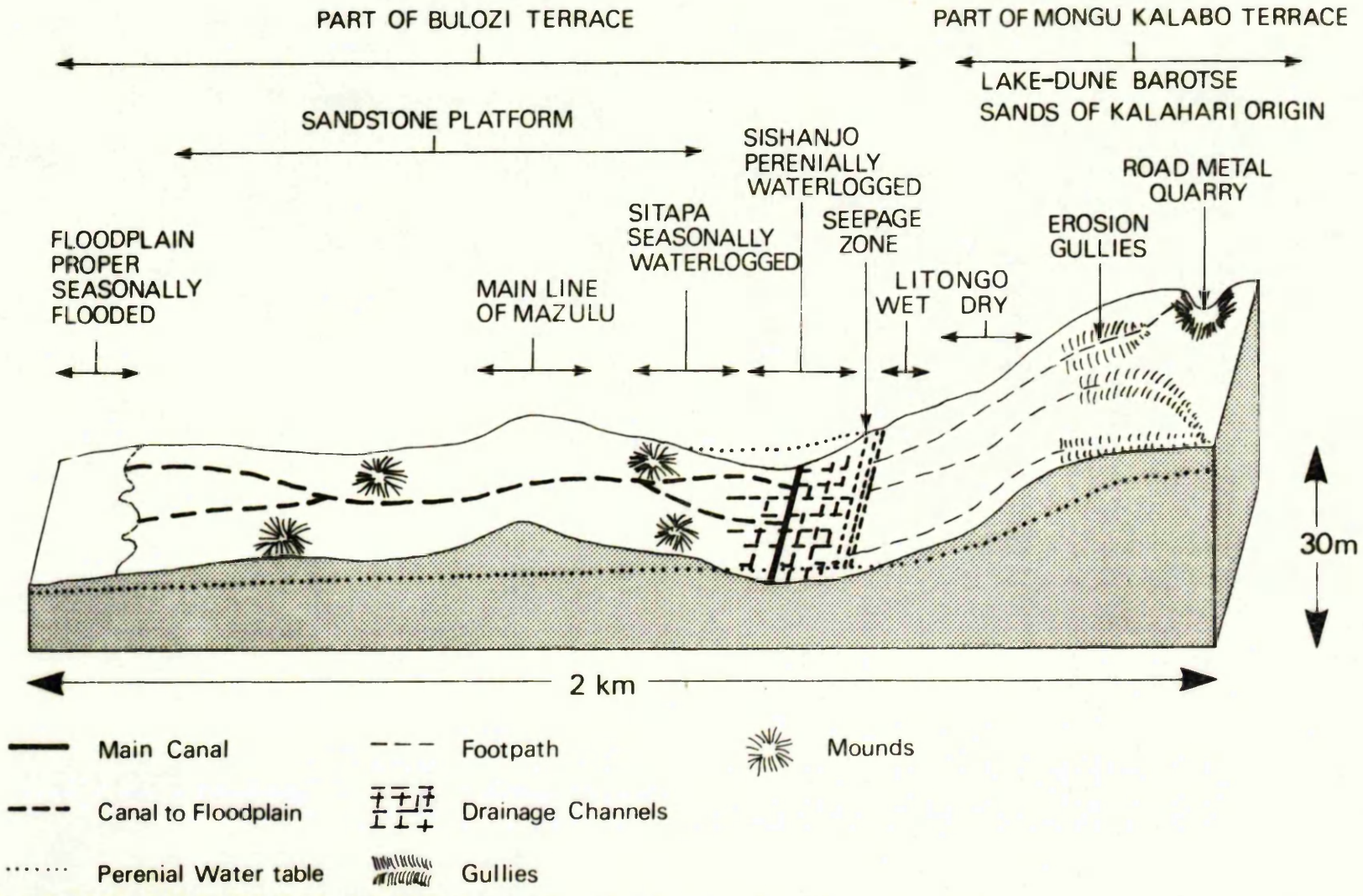
Location of villages in relation to natural environment and larger settlements.



the highest floods were together with the lower parts of the valley covered by alluvial deposits. The processes of erosion and deposition filled in hollows but eventually deposition also raised the wave-cut interfluves to above average flood level. Combined forces, but particularly the down-cutting of the Zambezi across the volcanic rock barriers in the south, appear to have lowered the lake. The draining of the lake seems to have progressed more quickly in the north of the basin where consequently settlement occurred earlier. In the south, north-west of Senanga the processes of erosion and deposition can still be clearly observed and settlement has been much more isolated and sparse. The drier sandy interfluves in the north appear to have been favourite sites for termites which raised them slightly adding a little diversity to the otherwise monotonously flat plain.

The area under consideration extends along the north-eastern plain margin where between Mongu and Limulunga wave action appears to have cut back into the Kalahari sandstone resulting in a low wave-cut platform just slightly higher than the average flood plain and a relatively steep slope which at its steepest behind Nasitoko rises 30 m above the plain level (see Fig. 3). Along the foot of the steeper slope section runs a narrow but clearly defined pediment left by slope retreat. South of Nasitoko the eroded platform appears to have been a spur separated from the main sandstone plateau to the east by a small stream very much like the Kanyonyo ('little thing') which

FIG. 3 Diagrammatic representation of Case Study Area Site.



separates Mongu's shopping and administrative areas. This early rivulet bed has to this day remained a well defined trough and the first road from Mongu to Limulunga followed the still recognizable valley flank on the eastern plateau edge.

The comparatively low plateau is flat and unbroken by any other stream up to Limulunga. A local entrepreneur making cement bricks and more recently the road construction firm, have ripped up the ground for building material leaving two relatively small pits and one large hollow very close to the brow of the slope. The elephant tracks north and south of Nasitoko follow eroded spurs and hillocks providing, except during the highest floods, a relatively dry route out into the plain.

The wave-cut platform west of the valley slope is about 1200 m wide. It rises, probably as a result of rainwash, slightly towards the west where an approximate 80 cm drop marks the limit of the actual seasonal floodplain. The flat surface of the platform is broken by a number of anthills which traditionally were used as raised gardens - mazulu - and mounds which have been raised artificially to provide village sites. North-west of Mongu the platform is scarred by irregular mounds and hollows caused by the removal of brickearth in the early colonial days. Similar deep hollows are found where clay was dug for traditional house building. In the vicinity of Nasitoko soil removal for use in gardens on the sandy

plateau has left a large pond-like cavity.

Drainage

Surface and underground drainage in the area follow with their seasonal fluctuations two clearly well-defined directions. The Zambezi, the lifeline of the valley, rises during the months of October/November until in an average season its waters by late January spill over the entire floodplain and creep up along the low sandstone platform. Only the isolated erosion surfaces of hillocks scattered in the plain remain dry. This wall of southward moving water holds back the perennial westward drainage of underground water which comes from the plateau to the east. The Kalahari sandstone plateau is a large acquifer. The minimum of relief and high porosity of the rock and the wooded nature of the plateau minimise the loss of water through run-off and evaporation and seasonally renew the reservoir of the acquifer from which the water drains west to emerge in a seepage zone at the foot of the valley slopes on the floodplain margin (see Fig. 3).

The width of the seepage zone and the amount of seepage vary with the steepness of the slope. Where the latter is more gentle and gradual the water does not actually break through to the surface. During the rainy season when the level of underground water is high, a 20 m-wide naturally unnegotiable bog forms below the steeper slopes; in more gradual sections the surface remains

relatively firm but is clearly a mere crust over a vast sponge. This poorly drained area is traditionally known as sishanjo.

Much was done during Lewanika's reign to improve the drainage of this strip of land, probably because it effectively barred movement from the upper plateau to the drier parts of the plain. A large 2 m-wide main canal was dug along the western margin of the seepage zone all along from Limulunga in the north to Mongu in the south. This canal separates more or less the sishanjo and the low sandy platform. The sishanjo itself was drained by a rectangular network of minor drainage channels which terminate in the main channel. Seasonal drainage of the low platform was also improved by drainage channels toward the main north-south canal and larger water diversion canals which were dug from the main canal right across the platform to the floodplain area of the valley. Thus water accumulating in the seepage area was drained southward and westward and, except during the worst rainy season and floods, this naturally waterlogged margin became dry not only for crossing but also for cultivation.

The channels and canals vary according to the height of the land in depth from 50 cm to 150 cm but all go down to the perennial water table. This drainage system was laid out in the first years of the 20th century when Lozi civilisation had reached its second peak under Lewanika who consequently commanded a large force of

forced labour and the unquestioned obedience and commitment of all his subjects. The maintenance of it is not only very hard work, hardly a task for a predominantly old and largely female population of the villages, but depends, in order to be effective, on co-ordination of the process throughout the area.

Individuals who still work the sishanjo do try to keep the channel surrounding their garden somewhat open and the government employs labour annually to clear the rapidly growing weeds in the main canal. However, the main canal is usually cleared well at the end of the flood season instead of at the beginning of it; thus at the onset of the rains and flood it is usually choked with aquatic plants which not only take up space but also impede the movement of the water. In the search for a dry crossing during the flood season large parts of the sishanjo have become severely compacted and sections of the drainage system have been destroyed. Individuals who tried to work their garden may have re-routed the canals. It is clear that prolonged neglect will obliterate the former co-ordinated network which together with changing attitudes will eventually cause considerable human problems when reconstruction and improvement of the area will make co-ordination and co-operation necessary. At this present moment, provided the right approach is taken, the original patterns, as well as the traditional sense of co-ordinated co-operation can still be found and

would be a valuable asset for the implementation of any scheme.

The pediment at the foot of the slope and the low platform on the other side of the sishanjo remain dry throughout the year. In neither area, however, is the water level very far below the surface. In October/ November the hollows on the sandy platform fill up rapidly and they retain the water until late May. The neglected drainage canals across the platform between the sishanjo and the floodplain appear to affect the groundwater level of the erosion surface which at a depth of 1.50 - 2.00 m is underlain by ferro-crete. Thus early prolonged rains at the beginning of the season frequently cause widespread waterlogging and crop destruction in this area.

During the second half of December until early February floodwaters on the plain proper along the western edge of the low platform may average a depth of up to 50 cm and more in hollows. With the disappearing rains and the lessening volume of water from the northern reaches of the Zambezi the water gradually drains away and evaporates from February onwards. By the end of May the sishanjo have dried out, sometimes into blocks of hard compacted mudstone, and the floodplain proper is a wide, dry almost featureless expanse of land.

Soils

Trapnell (1957) and Verboom (1970) summarise soils and their distribution in the Western Province.

Verboon in his study drew upon the findings of geologists, pedologists and ecologists such as Guernsey (1950), Trolope (1967), Savory (1965) and Flint (1959) and based his summary on pit sampling and photographic interpretation of a limited area. Nevertheless a survey on this scale with limited background research is necessarily generalised. There are no detailed soil surveys and photographic interpretations of the area yet, but the work has been started in some parts of the province.

According to Verboon the study area lies across the contact zone of:

a) The Mongu Kalabo Terrace,

b) The Bulozi Plain Terrace.

The eastern plateau margin, slope and lower pediment up to the seepage zone are part of the Mongu Kalabo Terrace, the valley floor proper extending westwards belongs to the Bulozi Plain Terrace (Fig. 3).

The fine-grained Kalahari sandstone of the plateau and slope has been deeply weathered by roots, rain and heat and the apparently solid rock disintegrates at the least impact. Weathering and the admixture of weathered products give the upper layer of sand a dirty middle brown colour which lower down becomes a brighter orange-brown. The small loose grains of sand appear to be mixed with very fine dust which on the first impact of water seems to swell into a matrix around the grains forming a layer sealing off the deposits at greater depth.

Only prolonged rainfall penetrates deeper while during short heavy storms the saturated top layer of sand seems to creep downhill over the drier substrata. Erosion is most rapid along regularly and particularly frequently-used footpaths but with the rapidly deteriorating cover vegetation, rain and wind cause considerable sheet erosion.

The two main tracks leading down to the village of Nasitoko have become deeply entrenched and when drift-like, loose sands made it difficult to move along one of them the villagers started a new footpath alongside it. Vegetation has recovered along the slopes of the deserted path; nevertheless headward gullying is a serious problem along all tracks especially those still used. After a night's heavy rain a lowering and undercutting of over 20 cm could be observed along the sides in some sections of a track the following morning. A minor footpath which apparently collected much run-off has developed into a gully approximately 8 m by 2 m and over 1 m deep. The sand is being washed out from beneath the roots of shrubs; thus it is likely that gullying proceeds rapidly. The danger point for erosion is, as indicated in the diagram (Fig. 3), just below the brow of the slope where within a very narrow strip of land three major gullies have been initiated. The distance between these scars and a recently opened sandpit is very short. Moreover the effects of only one rainy season have shown that gullying now occurs also from the sandpit downwards as well as

headward from the footpath and tracks. Less than 3 km north and south of the village of Nasitoko the process has already reached alarming proportions. Gullies resembling gorges run right down the slope. The loose sands accumulate temporarily below the steepest section of the slope. After heavy rains their movement across the pediment right into the sishanjo area is clearly evident. Unless effective measures are taken soon the slope will not only be honeycombed by gullies but the redeposited eroded sand is likely to devastate the settlements and adjoining gardens.

The Bulozi Plain Terrace has more diverse superficial deposits. Just below the seepage zone runs a black, heavy, oily belt of land containing still semi-decomposed organic matter which, at the outer margin, at a depth of 1½ metres gives way to white sandy deposits. Westwards the humus-rich layer thins out over the underlying sandstone platform and changes in texture into a greyish, clay loam. The belt of humic soils extends approximately 30 - 40 metres west of the canal after which there is a marked transition of grey sandy loams to the overall brownish sandy surface cover of the platform.

Even though seepage soils are found in small localities on the flanks of mazulu out on the plain where, as they were used for short periods to produce fast-growing crops, they were part of the indigenous system of cultivation, the large-scale drainage of this perennially waterlogged area was a great innovation and its working and

management can hardly be compared with the patches of seepage soil in the bulozi. It is therefore not surprising that villagers do not seem to have developed the same knowledge, understanding and affinity for this type of land as they have for gardens which have more in common with land on the plain proper. The fertility of this rich organic deposit has suffered not so much from constant use - large areas are not being worked at all at present - but from regular burning of weeds and plant wastes as well as grass at the end of the dry season. Burning may lower the risk and incidence of pests which, however, should be controlled in a way that does not progressively destroy the fertility of the land.

Because of the self-sealing property of the clay component of these soils during rains, constant cultivation seems to be necessary to give aeration for maximum growth. During the dry season maintenance of an adequate level of soil moisture is important because the drying out and cracking of the soil quickly causes root damage. With the existing network of drainage channels the regulation of the water level, both in the dry as well as in the wet season, to obtain a dry, well aerated if shallow layer of soil for near-to perennial root growth, should not be too difficult. Continued neglect with progressive deterioration together with the invasion of Kalahari sands from the bordering slopes will, however, eventually make it very difficult and costly to reclaim this area.

The transitional clay loam fringes of the humic

soils have a superficial similarity to the traditional alluvial clay riverside gardens of the plain. Despite the difference in origin and formation they are therefore commonly referred to as sitapa and cherished with traditional appreciation. The strip of clay loams is as valuable as a source of building material for the traditionally plastered houses as it is for cultivation and within its narrow limits clay pits alternate with gardens.

Along the centre of the platform surrounding the line of settlement sites sands appear finer with a notable clay component. Westwards sands seem coarser and loose typical of outwash plains. Locally these sandy flats are known as plain litongo. Still further west on the seasonally flooded part superficial deposits vary greatly within short distances from alluvial, clay and loam deposits to alluvial sands. Sand deposits are, however, by far the most prevalent. There are also, as stated earlier, within the floodplain proper erosion surfaces which remain above the average flood level. These parts are covered by weathered parent material with minimal components of organic matter.

Erosion surfaces particularly the platform appear to be the location for ant heaps. These largely form the core of the highly valued mazulu gardens though at least one of the greater mazulu in the vicinity of Nasitoko is man-made. The difference in their origin is apparent in their soil type. The man-made mound consists of sandy soil which depends greatly on being fertilised annually by

the kraaling of cattle, while the clay soil of ant-heaps has a relatively high inherent fertility. In the dry season, however, antheap soil hardens like baked earthenware clay. Cultivation of these gardens proceeds therefore in stages. Along the rim where soils have a higher component of sand they are worked before the onset of the rains but the core itself can only be worked when it has been softened by prolonged rain.

In general there is within short distances a great local variation of soil type and condition according to micro physical, hydrological, ecological characteristics. The older villagers particularly are aware of the soil differences and its consequences. Accordingly clay soils are ploughed at the end of the harvest season before they have become too dry and hard but sandier soils are ploughed shortly before the rains herald the planting season to minimise soil loss by wind erosion. In both instances the ploughed land must be worked over again before planting to break up the clods and even the furrows. This is being done with a hoe. The initial cost of ploughing the hard clay soil and the available manpower to prepare the land for planting, limit acreages cultivated by any one individual or family considerably.

For large parts of the valley floor and margin the term 'soil' is a very generous misnomer for nothing more than sand. Areas of more fertile productive land are not only small and scattered but require special treatment and intensive working. With adequate care, however these

limited inherently fertile parts lend themselves to intensive almost perennial cultivation of specialised crops particularly vegetables.

Climatic and Weather Conditions

The geographical location indicates the savanna type of climate in the area, summed up in available statistics in Figures 4a, b and c.

In Land Resource Study No. 8, S.H. Walker presents a statistical analysis of precipitation, the most important climatic element in an environment where even minimum temperatures rarely limit growth. In this brief comment I am more concerned with the aspects of weather and sensible conditions as they are experienced by, and affect the lives of, people in the village. To gain an overall impression it is helpful to follow locally accepted seasonal concepts which are:

a) the hot, dry season - September/October;

b) the hot, wet or rainy season - November/March;

c) the post-rainy season - April/May;

d) the cool, dry season - June/August.

This terminology too reflects the importance of rain in the life of the people.

Cloudless, bright blue skies characterise the hot dry season and temperatures rise until in October a daily maximum of 40^{o}C may be recorded. Such maximum temperatures are intensified by radiation from the hot, dry

Figure 4. Climatic Data as recorded at Mongu†

Figure 4a: Mean monthly and annual rainfall data in inches (1906 - 1966)

Station: Mongu

Period: 1906-1966

July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June
0.01	0.01	0.09	1.25	4.01	8.15	8.72	8.33	5.96	1.37	0.13	0.02

Annual Total: 38.11 inches (968 mm)

Figure 4b: Mean monthly and annual temperature data* (^{o}C)

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	No. of years
Monthly mean	18.9	19.8	23.7	25.2	23.1	22.3	22.4	22.4	22.3	21.8	19.6	18.5	18
Mean Maximum	26.6	29.6	33.0	33.9	30.6	28.8	28.4	27.9	28.6	29.5	28.2	26.2	18
Mean Minimum	8.5	11.8	15.3	17.2	17.7	18.3	18.4	18.6	18.1	16.1	11.5	8.4	17

Figure 4c: Relative humidity, dewpoint, sunshine hours, wind speed*

	Jul.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	No. of years
Rel. Humidity %	43	36	33	42	66	76	79	79	75	67	55	51	18
Dewpoint ^{o}C	4	5	7	11	16	18	18	18	17	16	11	8	18
No. of sunshine hours per day	9.8	9.9	9.4	8.2	6.6	5.6	5.6	5.9	7.0	9.0	9.8	9.7	30
Wind speed knots	6.5	6.8	7.6	5.4	3.5	2.8	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.9	5.9	5.8	8

Sources: † Precipitation Records Meteorological Station, Mongu.

* 'The Climate of Zambia' by Hutchinson (1974).

sand which by noon is too hot for walking barefoot. During the clear nights the dry ground with only scanty vegetation cover quickly radiates the heat back into the atmosphere. In comparison to the day's heat cool October nights average 17°C. There is also little evaporation as at this time open water surfaces have shrunk to a minimum. Thus hot, sunny days low in relative humidity alternate with cool invigorating nights. Strong winds carrying sand blasts do, however, add a less pleasant element to prevailing conditions.

During late October and November the main rainy season is usually heralded by heavy thunderstorms accompanied by short but torrential showers. The initial cooling is welcome but a high frequency of storms quickly raises the level of humidity and conditions become more trying and enervating. It appears that the moist air which gives rise to thunderstorms is drawn into the Zambezi valley in the north from the higher rainfall area of Zaire. In its passage the moist air builds up into dense dark clouds which move southwards where in the vicinity of the village neighbourhood some of them appear to break on the valley slopes in violent storms. As a result of the frequency and severity of thunderstorms which repeatedly caused great damage to property an earlier settler group renamed their reconstructed village after a fire caused by lightning 'Malengwa' a derivative from a local expression meaning 'struck down'.

With the southward swing of the inter-tropical

convergence zone cloudiness and rain become more widespread. First rains may continue to be intermittent heavy showers after the hottest period of the day but almost continuous rainfall for hours or even days from an overhung, dull sky may also set in. The latter phenomenon is dreaded. It not only saturates and waterlogs large areas but causes a rapid, marked drop in temperatures and phenomenal rise in humidity. These changes cause very unpleasant, cold, clammy conditions which are aggravated if winds are still relatively strong. Firewood is not only scarce but at this time also wet, giving nothing but a weak, smoky flame with no warmth. Dampness not only enters all clothes but also blankets and bedding commonly spread out on the floor for the night. Few houses have a well-constructed floor, thus rains frequently wash through the houses by day and night and even under drier conditions body warmth seems to be enough to evaporate water from the shallow underground water level during night. At the slightest appearance of sunshine during this season clothes, blankets and bedding are brought out on to roofs, fences and trees.

Continuous heavy rain in the earlier part of the rainy season is often followed by drier, sunnier, warmer conditions with more erratic rains and prolonged dry spells in the second half. The change is appreciated for alleviating the hardships of the weather, but coming during critical growth periods it often dries out maize crops on drier garden sites which had not been damaged by

waterlogging.

Whatever the rainfall may be, much of it is heavy and torrential. Walker's histogram of annual rainfall totals over a period of years, shows that the mean annual rainfall of over 960 mm or 38.11 in is very much an abstract concept with hardly any year illustrating it. Fluctuations of totals fall intermittently and unpredictably as much as 300 mm below and above this mean.

During March and April rain is becoming more occasional and temperatures drop. Even though there is less rain, large flooded waterlogged areas still give rise to a considerable degree of humidity. Strong winds are also common and generally conditions are almost as unpleasant and trying as in the earlier part of the rainy season. By the end of April rains usually have stopped, an impeccably blue sky returns and winds weaken.

The dry season between May and August is a time of maximum sunshine with bright, sunny, often hot days, but cool invigorating nights. Temperatures drop towards mid-season when daily maximum may be as low as 12°C and nights averaging a minimum of 8°C are decidedly cold. Mornings remain cool and fresh often up to midday when it warms up quickly for several hours. The weather conditions might be considered ideal, but not so for the majority of inadequately housed and poorly dressed people who have to huddle together on cold nights to keep warm.

Late in the dry season the gradual invasion of moister air from the north gives rise to regular, heavy

dew formation in the cool nights. Shortly before the onset of the rains heavy early morning dew almost resembles a light rainfall over the plain. Similarly in the post rainy season as a result of evaporation of water from the saturated ground during the day and re-precipitation in the cooler night, morning dew occurs well into May.

Another regular, outstanding feature of the weather in the area already mentioned is the winds which blow with great force in the dry season, particularly in the earlier and later part of it. There is a distinct, well marked reversal in the direction of these seasonal winds. In the late dry season temperatures appear to rise more rapidly on the drier sandstone plateau east of the valley and cooler air from the valley is drawn up causing strong, vortex-like gusts of wind blowing eastwards. In the post-rainy season overall temperatures drop more quickly on the plateau while the expanse of floodwater on the plain cools off more slowly. Consequently cool air from the plateau surges down westwards until the water on the plain has shrunk to within limits where it no longer has any effect on local temperatures. This reversal of pressure seems to strengthen and redirect the generally north/south moving stream of air. The strength and regularity of the wind in the dry season when its force can be utilized to lift water for cattle and irrigation should be given careful and immediate attention.

A comment on weather conditions in the area would not be complete without a mention of the magnificent sunsets

which, particularly in the latter part of the rainy season, can be observed from the valley slopes as one looks out over the flood waters of the Zambezi in which the rich golden red of the sky mirrors itself.

Vegetation Cover

There is a striking contrast between the forested marginal sandstone plateau and the treeless plain. Despite man's ruthless interference in recent years the vegetation cover today is as closely related to the structural, ecological environment as the virgin growth of the past.

Verboom (1970) has taken note of ecological survey of the Western Province by Trapnell (1950; 1957) which incorporated a structural classification. According to this classificatory survey the plateau margin was initially covered by Cryptosepalum, a low, evergreen, semi-deciduous forest and woodland which, as Verboom notes, occupies the higher rainfall plateau region which has over 36 in (910 mm) precipitation.

The tree stands did not only include Mukwa, the Rhodesian teak which has been commercially extracted further south, but a variety of species of local economic significance. Despite the people's general orientation towards the plain the villagers and even the younger generation still have a sense of awareness of the usefulness of the various tree species. Among villagers of pure

Lui extraction this knowledge, however, appears to be more academic than practical. Descendants of the forest tribes translate their knowledge more readily into action. The following are local names of some tree types which together with their traditional uses have been identified for me.

Mukenge - Roots used for basket making and rope especially to tie spear ends.

Munjongolo - Timber not attacked by insects therefore particularly valuable for house building, cooking spoons, etc.
Leaves used for medicinal purposes.

Munyelenyele - Edible fruit, timber used for cooking spoons.

Mumonsomonso - Edible fruit.
Fermented fruit yields liquid which is being distilled into alcohol.

Mungongo - Nut-like fruit pounded by forest people to provide natural fat for their diet.

Mulya)
) - Bark fibre used for ropes; leaf con-
Mutuya) tains sour or bitter milk which can be chewed into gum.

Mulombe - Timber used for drums, roofing poles, canoes, paddles, wooden dishes, stools and the traditional piano.

Mukwa - Edible fruit, valuable Rhodesian teak.

Muzauli - Edible red bean-like fruit, soft timber easy to carve used for canoes and stools.
Pounded leaves used for medicinal purposes.

Mwangalala - Edible fruit.

Musheshe - Timber for building poles.

Namulomo - Edible fruit, roots used for medicinal purposes.

Mambongo - Creeper with edible fruits.

Bwanda - Fibre contained in fruit used for filling pillows.

Timber for large canoes.

In the early 20th century the forest areas surrounding Mongu were severely depleted to provide firewood for brickburning and the domestic needs of colonial institutions and settlers. Thus today only isolated trees remain largely within the built-up complex where probably because they no longer had to compete for water they grew to magnificent size which contrasts sadly with the degenerate bush now covering the entire area. Under the old law prior to independence the slope down to the plain was protected. This ruling was, however, ignored over the last 10 years. The slopes which in contrast to the plateau had an almost undisturbed cover were not only plundered for timber but practically stripped for cultivation and settlement.

Behind the three villages under consideration only isolated specimens of fruit-bearing trees and boundary indicators remain standing. The entire slope within the boundary limits of these villages except for a limited section set aside as a cemetery has been cultivated for some time. Clearing the slope implied largely the

removal of vegetation cover but cassava gardens are hoed regularly to clear the shrub growth which repeatedly exposes the loosened top layer to the impact of wind and rain. If for some reason cultivation of some part of the slope has ceased shrubs recover relatively quickly providing a protective covering. But continued use has eliminated much of the intervening natural grasses thus particularly at the end of the dry season before the onset of heavy rains large bare sandy stretches between the shrubs make the slope very vulnerable. The problem is intensified by fires and a profuse indiscriminate network of footpaths from the main road on the plateau to the settlements at the foot of the slope. Sections of the slope which are either settled or still being cultivated are obviously the most vulnerable. It is along a footpath approaching a settlement surrounded by cultivated slope that the large erosion gully mentioned earlier on has developed.

The portion of slope set aside as a cemetery has, even though larger trees have all been removed, a relatively good cover of shrubs and grasses. All of the above mentioned tree species have been sighted and identified there. But because of the very exhausted, depleted state of the bush the entire slope yields little of any of the traditional resources. Only a few muzauli trees produce fruit. On the other hand the whole of a young tree or shrub is frequently cut down to yield only a weak cane or pole for fencing. Repeatedly I found new casualties on my daily rounds to and from the villages.

Through the Portuguese/Angolan trade mangoes seem to have been brought into the Western Province. The fruit was not only tasteful to the indigenous people but under the given climatic conditions propagated itself readily from discarded pips. Thus today tree clusters mark drier settlement sites on the plain margin and a fringe of tall sturdy mango trees runs along the foot of the slope above the seepage zone. Other trees, such as guava and orange, are also found there but not nearly as many. While hardly any of the older mango trees appear to have been deliberately planted the more isolated orange and guava trees were usually planted by returning migrants but receive little if any care beyond that. The seasonal rise of the underground water level seems to benefit not only the growth of timber and foliage but gives the trees during the vital growth period the necessary moisture to produce good quality, tasty, juicy mangoes, oranges and guavas.

To prevent an imminent national disaster of erosion along the Zambezi Plain margin immediate urgent steps should be taken to reclaim the vegetation cover and if necessary 'colonise' the slopes with suitable trees and shrubs. The bush was traditionally a source of food and supply for the forest people and they will not easily understand and accept its preservation for its mere existence. They are nevertheless quick to appreciate the ultimate disaster of destruction and the ensuing threat to their own livelihood. Much more attention should therefore

be given to conservation education in schools. The tendency of teachers to send out pupils in search of poles and canes to construct during craft lessons fencing for staff gardens and school toilets must be counteracted as strongly as possible. Formal teaching given to children and adults must in practice be supported by government schemes and projects. The almost indiscriminate ripping up of the vegetation cover in areas most prone to erosion to minimise financial costs of projects such as the road, illustrates neither in theory nor practice the need for protection of a greatly endangered area.

Effective control of the decline, however, demands more active intervention and propagation of the knowledge and possibilities in all the villages. All villagers know the characteristics of the Mungongo tree which is already being used to construct erosion barriers. It not only obstructs and slows down the flow of water and its erosive power but quickly takes root in even the poorest, driest soils. As its fruit has been one of the main sources of fat in the traditional diet of the forest people the oil content of the nut and its possibilities for improvement and uses should be investigated. An increase in the number of trees is unlikely to intensify the problem of illicit brewing and distilling if there is a market for the fruit. Local processing of the fruit either into oil or meal would on the other hand make a valuable contribution to the fight against malnutrition which is more

prevalent among descendants of forest people along the plain margin than among people who have more completely identified with Lui traditions and customs.

An alternative incentive to reclamation of the slope would be the propagation of beekeeping which was a traditional activity in the forest and has so far been re-deployed on the plateau further east. Many of the shrubs have not only numerous, bright, sweet-scented flowers but also a long flowering season from November to late April. When the indigenous vegetation dies down the fruit trees along the foot of the slope are beginning to flower and orange trees in particular could do much to extend the flowering season throughout the year. One of the villagers in Namboma has planted cashew nut trees on the slope behind his house. Cashew nuts have been found to do well on the dry Kalahari sand.

Analysing and summarising the vegetation cover of the Bulozi plain Verboom again makes reference to earlier works of Trapnell et al. (1950; 1957) and Peters (1960) and he goes on cataloguing the various grass species for the geomorphological soil units. I do not, therefore, attempt a botanical survey and classification of the plain either but look again at man's relationship to his habitat. Variations in superficial deposits from heavy organic soils to alluvial sands, contrasts in water supply, drainage and aeration, and differences in altitude and local relief give a mosaic of micro ecological systems within any one area. Such differences make it difficult to develop the

indigenous vegetation over an appreciable area uniformly. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study it is helpful to look at the major structural ecological zones:

a) the sishanjo area;

b) the low sandy platform;

c) the seasonally flooded region.

Drainage and cultivation must have had a marked effect upon the sishanjo region. With the progressive neglect of the canal system ferns and sedges re-established themselves in many parts of the fallow gardens. The better drained areas have been colonised by grasses and plants introduced through cultivation. The profuse intrusion of plants alien to the original ecological system breaks the peaceful, harmonious appearance of the reeds and sedges and gives much of the sishanjo an appearance of deterioration and neglect.

On the seasonally waterlogged platform margin sedges give way to various tall grass species particularly hyparrhenia or thatching grass. In lower parts subject to prolonged waterlogging with sandier soils growth is poor with shorter, more widely spaced tufts of grasses, but with improved drainage marked differences in size and density are apparent. The central drier part of the platform seems to have a climax community with grasses reaching well above 2 metres.

Within the annually flooded region papyrus type grasses grow in the saturated soils when the flood waters

retreat. As the ground begins to dry out and the moisture level of the soil is no longer sufficient to support this type of growth the floodwaters are about to return. Around perennial pools reeds grow to greater height and papyrus swamps are common. Anthills on the plain usually carry a cluster of thorn trees.

All sedges and grasses are, as is common with savanna grasses, in their prime state during the rainy season. As the rains stop and the soils dry out the lush green turns through various shades into a dirty brown. At an in-between stage when the reed and grass stems are sufficiently dry but not yet attacked by insects is the time for cutting grass for thatching, fencing and mat making. Hyparrhenia is generally the best known thatching grass, but with very limited growth areas on the plain the Lozi people also use a variety of sedges. Some of the grasses of the sishanjo and river banks are even more highly valued for roofing than the usual variety of thatching grass. Towards the end of the dry season when grass requirements for building have been met the remaining dry cover is burnt. This minimises the risk of fire to settlements, ensures a fresh, clean, unentangled growth of new grass in the following year and also reduces thickets and hiding places to a minimum facilitating surveillance of the plain in the dry season when traditionally the environment supported hostile attacks. Standing on the valley slope any evening in late September and October looking out across the plain one can see controlled grass

fires on the plain margin for miles around.

Perennial open water surfaces, even canals along which movement is at a minimum in the dry season, support a dense growth of aquatic plants. These appear to float up on the wider flooded plain but choke the more confined system of canals as already mentioned. Among these plants the profusely growing water lilies are noteworthy not only because they are beautiful but because traditionally their underwater stems made a significant contribution towards the diet of the Lui people. Today, however, this plant is rarely thought of for its food value.

In the present semi-natural state the greatest economic value of the grasslands of the plain margin is definitely the free supply of building materials - thatching and fencing grass as well as clay. Their nutritional value for cattle brought back seasonally from the river flats is very low, nevertheless marginal grazing facilities are traditionally very important. The prospects of their use and development for cattle raising will be considered later when dealing with cattle on the plain. It is, however, clear that common grasslands cannot be utilised economically by any one sector of the community for any particular purpose without providing alternative sources of construction materials and the means for the people to acquire them. Apparently unproductive as the grasslands may seem at present they make, with grass and building clay, a vital contribution to the provision of shelter for the people on and around the plain.

CHAPTER 4

EVOLUTION OF SETTLEMENTS AND LAND HOLDINGS IN THE VILLAGES

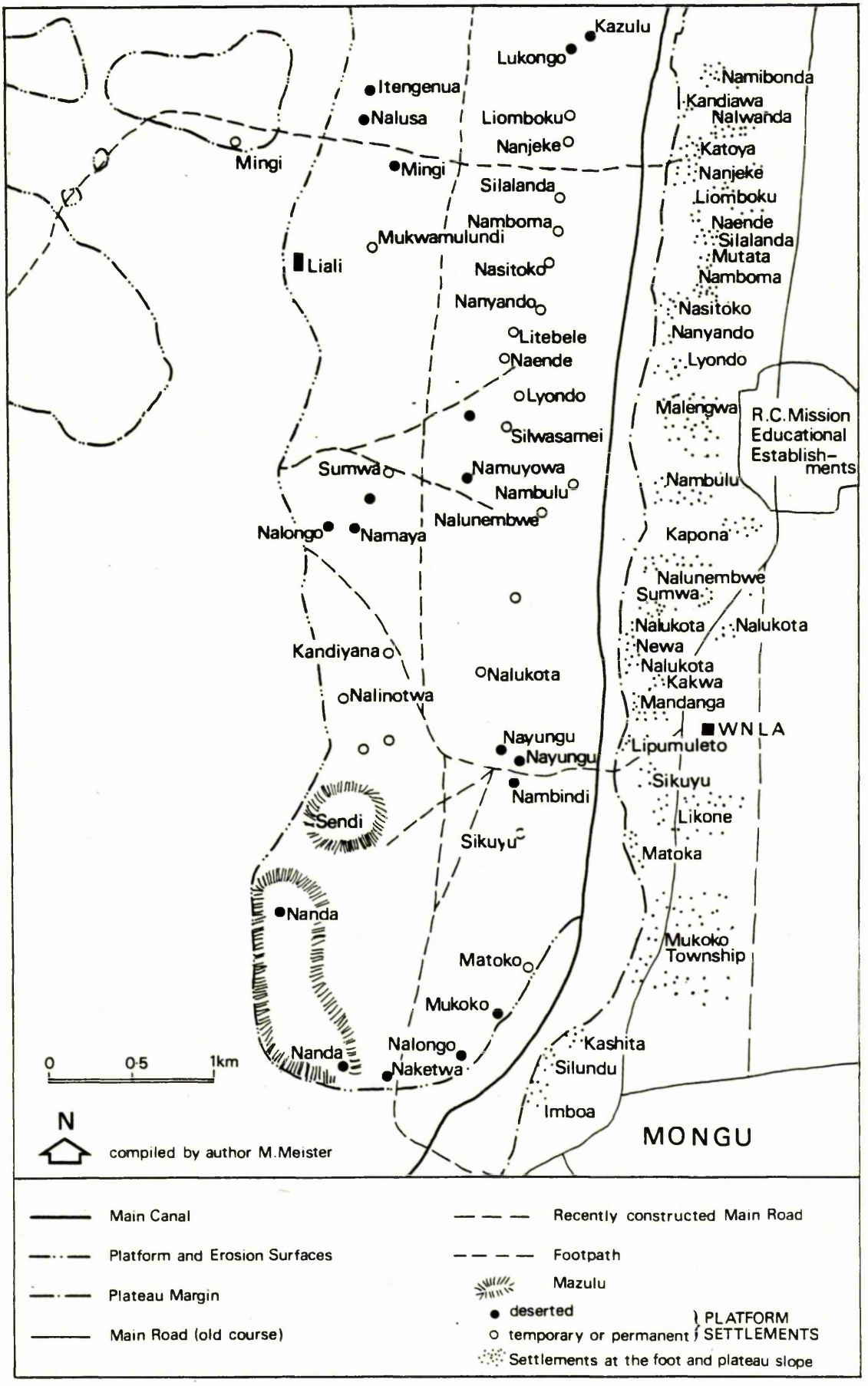
Growth and Distribution of Settlements

The life of the people in the area and any village in particular can hardly be understood without some insight into the growth of settlements, their distribution and interrelation - all of which are closely linked with the growth and development of the nation.

Traditionally the subdistrict or tungi north of Mongu was known as Naloke which I am told was under the jurisdiction of Kutoma of Nalongo (Nalongo also a village on the platform) and Livumbu of Nasitoko (see Fig. 5). Members of Kutoma's family claim equally-shared responsibility between the two while subjects of Livumbu assert his overall superiority in the district in judicial matters. My own observation in actions and reactions of the people and the fact that Livumbu retained jurisdicial authority when after independence official courts were established, seems to support the assumption that Livumbu was most certainly the universally accepted representative of the king in the capacity of an Induna.

The village of Nalongo is said to be the foundation of Mubelo whom Ngalama (K4) had posted to monitor Mange's movements and people. When Mange was overcome

FIG. 5
Map showing movement and distribution of settlements.



Mubelo was allocated land for his family. His headship was carried on by his son after whom the title of the family elder has been named Kutoma. Nasitoko 4 km further north dates back to Mulambwa's (K9) reign 1780 - 1830. Folklore tells that Alisheke the founder of Nasitoko, a man of Kwangwa origin, was one of the companions of Mulambwa before he became king. One hunting episode in particular is told among the people, which relates how Alisheke won the future king's favour. Alisheke yielded enthusiastically to the prince's claim that his dogs had killed a buck which in reality Alisheke's hounds had laid. During the tribal war of succession Alisheke, a member of a search party scouring the reeds and swamps with fishing spears, saw and recognised the fugitive prince but passed him by thus letting him know of his continued loyalty and promise of protection in the village. On his arrival the prince was hidden in a village grainstore until the search was over. When the rival faction was routed and Mulambwa (K9) was recognised as the rightful Lozi king, he rewarded Alisheke with the hereditary title 'Livumbu' (literally meaning a thicket in which you hide), and the indunaship of the district Naloke. Livumbu was thus given the privilege of use and distribution of land as well as administrative capacity over all the people in the district.

Either of the men probably started, as was traditionally common, by inviting maternal relatives and friends to stay with them in their village. The original

confined village site usually became too small as children by several wives grew up. In the case of Nasitoko it is said, that a dog which stole the chicken out of the cooking pot of one of the families brought the jealousy inherent between children by different wives and accentuated by the village being unable to expand in area to the open. Thus there was a legitimate reason for movement without admitting to the actual cause of jealousy. The villages named below and shown in Figure 5 have grown out of the original settlements of Nalongo and Nasitoko.

Nalongo	Nasitoko
Nayunga - Sishanjo	Silwasameii
Nayungu - Lisulu	Silalanda
Mandanga	Naende
Sikuyu	Nanjeke

I could not ascertain the tribal origin of Mubelo. It is, however, highly probable that he too like Alisheke was an inculturated member of the Lui tribe. Inculturated members seem to have been particularly proud of their affiliation which may also have been a matter of self interest in their dealings with the dominant tribe. They therefore imitated and adopted Lui customs among which the form of settlement and dispersal from it are significant. Mounds were usually artificially raised and enlarged. Despite the proximity to the dry plateau, the settlements on the platform (Fig. 5) were in the wet season effectively isolated by the floodwaters in the

west and the seepage swamps in the east. Dry-land bridges out to the plain appear to have been of greater importance than those up the plateau.

When later in his reign Mulambwa (K9) brought in Mbunda people under Mwene Kandala he settled them on the slope to the east between Nalongo and Nasitoko but was apparently obliged to move them further north to the bordering sub-district of Mavumbu to keep the peace with the people of Naloke who claimed there was not enough land for them all. The ancestors of the village of Kakwa remained and the villagers retain their identity with the Mbunda people in Mavumbu to this day.

During the invasion of the Kololo both village neighbourhoods of Naloke it seems moved north with the contender to the throne of their choice. The Kololo brought in forest people particularly Nkoya to support their settlements. When, after the Kololo had been overthrown, the Lozi returned they not only married Kololo women but subjugated other survivors into serfdom and slavery. Mutata north of Namboma appears to have been a settlement of unfree people but any of the remaining direct descendants left and returned to the forested plateau when slavery was abolished in the early 20th century.

Sipopa the first Lozi king after the Kololo invasion founded according to tradition a new dry-season capital, Lealui, and a new flood season capital, Mukoko on the southern tip of the platform (Fig. 5) just north

of Mongu. To protect his flood season capital against attacks from the forest which made surveillance difficult he settled maternal relatives in the newly established villages of Silunda and Kashitu. Sipopa, however, only came once to stay at Mukoko after which he spent most of his time in Shesheke. Present-day villagers are therefore mainly the descendants of the people Sipopa had called upon to establish Mukoko for him.

Lozi life and civilisation began to grow vigorously during the reign of Lewanika (1878-83), (1884 - 1916) who succeeded Sipopa and reconfirmed the importance of Lealui as the plain capital. The spin-off of this regeneration as well as change under Lewanika resulted in a concentration of population in the vicinity of the capital and thus led to growth of settlement in the district of Naloke. (See Fig. 2).

Men, who in their skilful mastery of the drum, control the mood of the people by the sounds and messages they send out, played an important part at court. Thus Lewanika asked Livumbu to allocate land for a dry-season settlement to the chief drummer Kazuka who called members of his family from Kalabo. Similarly Lewanika invited Nyengo people from the Kalabo district to take care of his fishing particularly at lake Nalussa. The fishermen started the villages of Nalwanda and Namibonda and later on Kandiyama. These were the first northern settlements on the foot of the plateau or mukulu as it is traditionally called. Katoya the village of Kazuka has grown and split

up into three village sections under different headmen while from Namibonda, probably because of lack of space within their allocated boundaries, people moved out on to the plain margin and set up the villages of Lukonga and Kazulu.

Sakanungu, a friend of Lewanika was entrusted with the control and supervision of tribute from the forest people. He communicated with his subordinate team of men the needs of the palace to the respective supply areas where people responded sending parties carrying their 'gifts' to the king. Livumbu anxious to consolidate his standing with the palace as well as with an influential friend of the king, offered Sakanungu a site for a title village which came to be known as Namboma.

Lyondo, Nambulu, Newa and probably Liomboko started most likely as flood-season settlements for the respective villages in the plain. With the increase of population in the confined plain settlements and the growing importance of Mongu during colonial times these villages became permanent. There is still considerable seasonal movement between Nambulu on the plain and Nambulu in the mukulu.

Within the boundaries of Naloke were several garden areas which were reserved for the production of food for the king. These areas included the large mazulu of Nanda and Sendi and at least two strips of land running at rightangles from the plain margin up the slope where today we find the villages of Nalukota, Kapona and

Nanyando. Parts of these gardens were worked in turn by the people of the district who responded at certain times to Livumbu's call and co-operated in the cultivation activities of the king's gardens. The produce of these gardens was then sent as gifts to the palace. The construction of the drainage canal through the seepage zone from Limulunga to Mongu as well as the tributary channels was another communal activity in the middle years of Lewanika's reign. From many of the comments of the people it appeared that the enforced digging of these canals must have been very hard work, and strained the willingness of the people to participate and co-operate in communal activities. Consequently they greeted the decree of the abolition of forced labour in 1906 with great relief, though several maintained that it did not actually stop as long as Lewanika was alive, probably also because older people cannot change habits they have acquired over a lifetime very easily.

With the termination of communal work the king's gardens were no longer cultivated, thus Lewanika laid claim to them as settlement sites for members of his family and friends. Nalukota was the village of one of Lewanika's sisters Wa Mukwae Sishwati who in Lozi tradition consolidated the settlement with maternal relatives. Affairs of the royal village were managed by a related headman, overall power, however, rested with the royal princess and her female successor. This led to a separation and the establishment of a second village under the

same name but under the control of the headman. Nalunembwe village on a mazulu relatively near to the villages of Nalukota was started for one of Lewanika's daughters. On the plateau end of this same strip of land Nyundo and Chafele who had come to the plain as missionaries, probably members of the Ethiopian Church, were allowed to settle and start the village of Kapona.

A section of the large mazulu Nanda was selected for another of Lewanika's daughters, Mulena Mukwae (princess chief) who later succeeded to the throne of Nalolo in the south. The settlement continues to be the home base of her son the present Ngombela at Lealui. The cultivation right and use of the mazulu Sendi was given to the people of Nayungu together with the charge to take care of one of Lewanika's sons, seriously ill with tuberculosis. The young man appears to have died soon after he had come to Nayungu and the people of Nayungu like to believe the 'land use right' has remained permanently with them, but no one appears to lay any open claim to it. One of Lewanika's sons who in the 1920s was headmaster of the Barotse National School in Mongu settled on the plateau margin and started the village of Lipumuleto.

The whole strip of land from the brow of the slope down to the platform centre approximately 60 metres wide just south of Nasitoko, now known as Nanyando, was given to Sikombombwe, the sister of Sikufele, Lewanika's rival to the throne who was killed during the tribal

fight which brought Lewanika back to the throne. She, like Sikufele, was a cousin of Lewanika on their father's side thus Lewanika saw it as his duty to care for her and her children. They spent the dry season in Lealui, but established a flood-season settlement at Nanyando, which in Yeta's reign must have become permanent.

Most of the settlements established before and in the earlier years of Lewanika's reign ran roughly along the platform, off-centre from south to north, just above the sishanjo and sitapa gardens (Fig. 5). During the earlier part of Yeta's reign the village sites became marked by clusters of mango trees. In the 1950s however, people began to move out of these villages across the sishanjo to the permanently dry foot of the slope. Today all the villages on the platform between Nayungu and Liomboku inclusive have been vacated. Most people cited the wet condition on the plain, the difficulty of crossing the saturated swamps in the wet season and being cut off from the activities of Mongu and the happenings on the main road as the main reasons for moving. This indicates a strong change in orientation of the village people. Some however, indicated that they felt compelled to move because newcomers coming into the area, or even other villages moving, would take up most of the land and thus they felt they were the losers as there would be nowhere left for them to go and they would have to stay on the plain margin.

Early in the 20th century the WNLA, the

Witwatersrand recruitment organisation set up its main recruitment centre on the plateau just north of Mukoko and around it grew up a sprawling township catering for the needs of those who came from across the plain to enlist and of those who returned from a completed contract. The latter usually had money which they spent quickly in drinking and prostitution. The township became known as Likone which in Silozi means a thicket or forest in which wild, dangerous animals prey.

People who after the abolition of slavery were free to leave the plain and settle somewhere on their own seem to have founded the village of Malengwa which today falls into three sections under a different headman each. To all my questioning concerning the village of Matoko I received very little information about its origin. The people of Namboma who are Totela from the forest east of Senanga claim that the people of Matoko are related to them. The settlement could have been started by Totela serfs and slaves when they were freed, some suggested that it was started by a princess's consort.

In the 1940s various religious organisations obtained permission to set up places of worship along the road that was being opened up. One of the mission posts has developed into the educational complex of Malengwa. Shortage of space along the mukulu forced some of the settlements to move higher up the slope. Also newcomers to the area, who either found work or saw other prospects for business, settled in the vicinity of

the mission and educational establishments along the road. Thus we find today not only a string of villages along the foot of the slope but also a sprinkling on and above it.

The western margin of the platform is less densely populated but despite the sparsity and the generally unfavourable conditions an interesting variety of settlement is to be found there. Mingi in the north-west was once a larger permanent settlement. The only remaining family has moved the site as is indicated on the map (Fig. 5). On the land surrounding the homestead as the flood retreats a husband and wife with casual labour, utilise the moist sandy soil to grow vegetables particularly tomatoes. Itengenua too is a single family home of a man working in Mongu. Mukwamulundi, Sumwa, Kandiyana and the villages clustering around the latter were transition stations for people who had moved in from the plain or out of larger, confined villages and who have now moved on into town or up on to the plateau. The names signify therefore only clusters of trees which mark the former village sites.

Liali, Namuke, Namuyawa, Namuya and Nalongo are temporary settlements. The fringe of gum trees of Liali is a landmark. The other seasonal settlements are less imposing. If one looks down over the edge of the plateau in the dry season one can hardly distinguish them from the dry grassy flats around them. The sandy flats enable the herdsmen of Liali to accommodate their cattle. The

people of Liali in the plain are, however, also engaged in fishing and the configuration of the land on the margin gives them an opportunity to pursue this activity.

The settlement history of the area shows a high degree of mobility of the people which is partly effected by environmental factors but probably more fundamentally by tribal interaction in the process of nation building. The distribution of settlement roughly parallel and aligned to the structure of the land, first centred on the core area of Lozi civilisation and its economic system. It has now, still retaining its alignment to the land, clearly moved closer to the centre of a new political and economic system represented by Mongu, the main road, and the educational establishments of Malengwa. The new economic system is, however, unable to accommodate all those from the villages who would like to come into it and with the security of a new economic order lacking, it is, for the villagers, undesirable to negate the security of the old. On the contrary in a situation of tension and strife caused by the increasing concept of needs and wants which cannot be met emphasis on traditional beliefs of magic and witchcraft is a powerful safeguard. The readiness of the people to move towards what is desirable but not obtainable has entrapped them in a paralysing pseudo traditional attitude from which I have no doubt they will break out towards self-improvement and development if convincing, profitable opportunities were easily available.

Land Tenure, Succession, Settlement Rights

The preceding part of the chapter will have shown that the population was sparse when in the late 18th century Alisheke received his title and land rights. When he was appointed rights of earlier settlers descended from Mubelo were recognised and preserved as they were at the time. Over the rest of the sub-district of Naloke, excluding the gardens of the king which probably Mulambwa earmarked at the same time as he settled Alisheke, the new Livumbu had the right to grant and dispose of as he decided. Since Lozi life and tradition centred on the plain the induna's control did not extend over the adjacent forested plateau which apart from localised tribal areas was considered hunting preserve of the king. In recent years this distinction was overlooked and ignored.

The people of Nasitoko and Namboma not only have gardens on the slope but Livumbu has agreed to the settlement of Mbunda people to whom he has allocated gardens on the forested area at considerable distance to the east of the villages. The transgression of the old law and practice was connived at by all, thus when the king allocated the land in the forest to another applicant there was no question of appeal or redress. It was accepted by everyone that there was no claim to land which in the first place the Livumbu had no right to let. The villagers cleared new land and moved their cassava gardens.

Despite amendments of the agricultural land act

which sanctions the alienation of crown land by a specially appointed board to be allocated to suitable applicants for farming, it is clear that in practice on the Zambezi floodplain and in adjoining areas the traditional land tenure system operates. Accordingly the induna, the primary landlord, Livumbu in the case of Naloke, continues to have control. In October 1979 this right was challenged by three women in the neighbouring village of Mutata who claimed land which at the turn of the century the predecessor of the present Livumbu had given to their father. The village neighbourhood including relatives of the women were unanimous that as their father had left the village and the land in the meantime had neither been worked nor claimed by resident heirs the land right had ceased and the Livumbu was free to re-allocate it to other settlers. The land was not being worked when I arrived in the area. The women who returned to the village in which their father had lived were quite happy in merely laying claim to it until parts were being re-allocated by the Livumbu. When he was about doing so the women started getting busy improving the land to the extent that they employed someone to clear out the canals. The land question was brought before Mukulwashiko, the induna representing the sub-district of Naloke at Lealui, as well as before the magistrate's court at Mongu. The support of the people present at the hearing in Mongu for their traditional leader was tangible and the successful

outcome was celebrated by singing and dancing in the village throughout the day.

Apart from the control of allocation of vacant land most of the traditionally valued type of gardens remain within the extended family circle of the induna and traditional land rights refer mainly to these. The intervening sandy flats are of little economic value, even their food value for grazing is low, thus they have always been considered as common or no-man's land. The apparent use of this land on aerial photographs (Plate 2) is misleading. Because the sandy soils were not being claimed by permanent settlers villagers from the plain are free to use them for cassava which is grown in heaped gardens known as mukomene. Traditional methods of digging limit the amount of land any woman can cultivate for the use of her family and the soil is allowed to remain fallow for a considerable time to regain some of its fertility. Therefore only very little of the land is actually being cultivated at any time. The right to cultivate as much as the family can traditionally work to support them is inherent in the agreement of settlement within the allocated boundaries.

The mazulu and sitapa* originally held by the members of the immediate family of Alisheke have over the years and generations been subdivided. Though the Lozi are traditionally patri-local and a young man is entitled

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* Both show up clearly on Plate 2 as light round and rectangular patches.

to use land when he marries and has a wife to cultivate it, female descendants too have land rights. They either work their allotment living in a nearby village or reclaim it should they, their marriage failing, return to their father's village. The amount of land given to women depends on the total family claim. Sons cannot, strictly speaking, inherit their mother's claim which on her death reverts to the male descendants of the family. The right of the latter to land, as long as resources are available, is determined by allowance per wife. Polygamy therefore was a man's guarantee for an influential and comfortable life. Members who moved out into newly founded villages obviously retained their claim as did women who married within short distances from their home. I was given to understand that one could not come to a village in which one did not live to harvest fruit of trees planted by one's ancestors. Only those who contribute to the maintenance and upkeep of the village have a right to share in the harvest. But if a family member lives within easy distance and does not allow the claim to land to fall away but works it, no-one can take it from her. As many of the women married men in the neighbourhood, who had little if any land, they obviously all retained the right and use of it. There is apparently only one mazulu in the neighbourhood which has been allowed to move out of the control of the original family ownership. The very thought of such an occurrence is almost impossible thus the event has entered into local oral

history. Outsiders as well as the parties concerned in the deal relate the incident, with a variety of explanations and connotations. In short, Sikombombwe, the first, traded a large anthill mazulu on the grounds of Nanyando with Sakanungu of Namboma for a blanket originally brought in and obtained from the Portuguese-Angolan traders. Inheritance, however, dispersed the 'ownership' of mazulu and sitapa and today few families except for title holders, have more than one mazulu and a patch of sitapa.

Latecomers and newcomers have only the use of sishanjo and sandy patches for mukomene which are allocated to anyone accepted into the village today, provided of course, there is unclaimed land and those who settle ask for it. Strictly speaking only Lozi people who are permitted to settle in or on the margin of the village are entitled to land on the plain. Mbunda people who recently immigrated from Angola are permitted to settle outside the village and generally can only ask for gardens in the forest. Nevertheless Mbunda women of one extended family group were given plots of sishanjo by the people of Nanyando and Nasitoko. These gardens were not officially allocated by the Livumbu but sub-let by some member of the community after consultation with the immediate family and village elder, because I was told,

'these Mbunda women are good people'.

They are entitled to use the land for an indefinite period

of time. When it is being reclaimed they would have to return it after the crops have been harvested. Mukonde Kalima in the ancillary village of Nasitoko has even gone further. He has actually before his death accepted Popolo, of Mbunda origin, as a member of the village and given him a tract of sishanjo for his use. On my arrival in the area Popolo was the only member of the whole of Nasitoko who used the sishanjo to its best advantage.

The traditional land-holding system has never worked in the fringe communities which was borne when Lozi commoners, serfs and slaves were freed. Similarly latecomers to the area who came from the plain and established temporary settlements which eventually became permanent have no claim to traditional land in the area. In the village of Namboma the only family with claim to traditionally valuable land is that of the Sakanungu, the village headman, who enjoys the use of title land as well as the mazulu his ancestor acquired through bargaining. Other families in Namboma are not really related to the Sakanungu because the founder of the village had selected team members for his mission from among what he considered qualified men rather than from among relatives. These families have therefore no hereditary claim and like other latecomers and newcomers can only ask for sishanjo, mukomene, or bush gardens. The present Sakanungu has, on the other hand, also land claims in the plain which he inherited from his father. His land claims in Namboma stem from a maternal uncle who had no direct

descendants. To work the land in both places Sakanungu has at present two wives, one in either homestead. It might appear that consequently he has large areas, but considering what I have said about the nature of traditionally valuable land the acreages concerned are very small. Once the present owner allocates a heritage to each of his children, few of them will end up with more than one garden or a patch of field. The same applies today to the members of the extended families of the Livumbu and Sikombombwe. The land of Nanyando is limited to within the boundaries of what was the king's gardens, but there are at present at least three rightful heirs, one of whom is still young and unmarried, and two who have 17 children between them, who with their future grandchildren are entitled to land.

I raised the question with Mwiya Subulva one of the heirs of Nanyando and father of ten children and asked what he thought of a system which would financially compensate some of the children for their land right and thus have only one heir to the land. His first reaction was in favour, but then he hesitated at the thought that one of his children who may have used his remuneration and not be successful in his work and life would no longer have the security of being able to return to the land and village.

There is still a number of mazulu especially on the outlying erosion surface which could have been brought under cultivation by the people of Nasitoko if the old

order had continued to prevail. But the distance of these mounds from the village and their separation by the flood waters as well as the difficulties of working ant-heap soil appear to have counteracted such development once migration and near-by work opportunities drew the interest of the people. It is therefore only mazulu which have been worked for a considerable time already that are being considered as cultivable land. Such land is also at a premium within the land-holding extended family. Mutakela and Munalula Alibandila, brothers and in direct line to the indunaship of Naloke have no mazulu and little sitapa as the limited family claim is still being worked by their father and his wife.

The frequently repeated cry of some people that they have no land and the repeated accusation of the traditional land-holding families that they have all the land are certainly two misconceptions. Living among the villagers I realised that despite the fact that no monetary value enters into their dealings with land their attitude towards what is considered valuable land is very much the same as that of peasant farmers in Southern Germany where very similar practices of inheritance have led to a similar parcelling out of land. The parcelling out on the plain margin is less apparent because of the physical characteristics of the land which delimit the gardens naturally and because of the large intervening spaces of seemingly useless land.

Intensification of agricultural production and

land reform will have to take note of these factors as well as of social practices and integrate them all into a productive system. It is difficult to conceive that any one system and method will be adequate to meet the needs and solve the problems. Not only is the idea of an abundance of land held by traditional landholders a misguided view, but it is almost certain that no-one will make a greater effort to improve and maintain the land than the people whose life and values are closely tied up with it.

To the west the sub-district includes two relatively shallow lagoons. In true Lozi tradition the induna of Naloke has claim to them. They are, however, because they are shallow and dry up quickly, more of a status symbol than an advantageous economic asset.

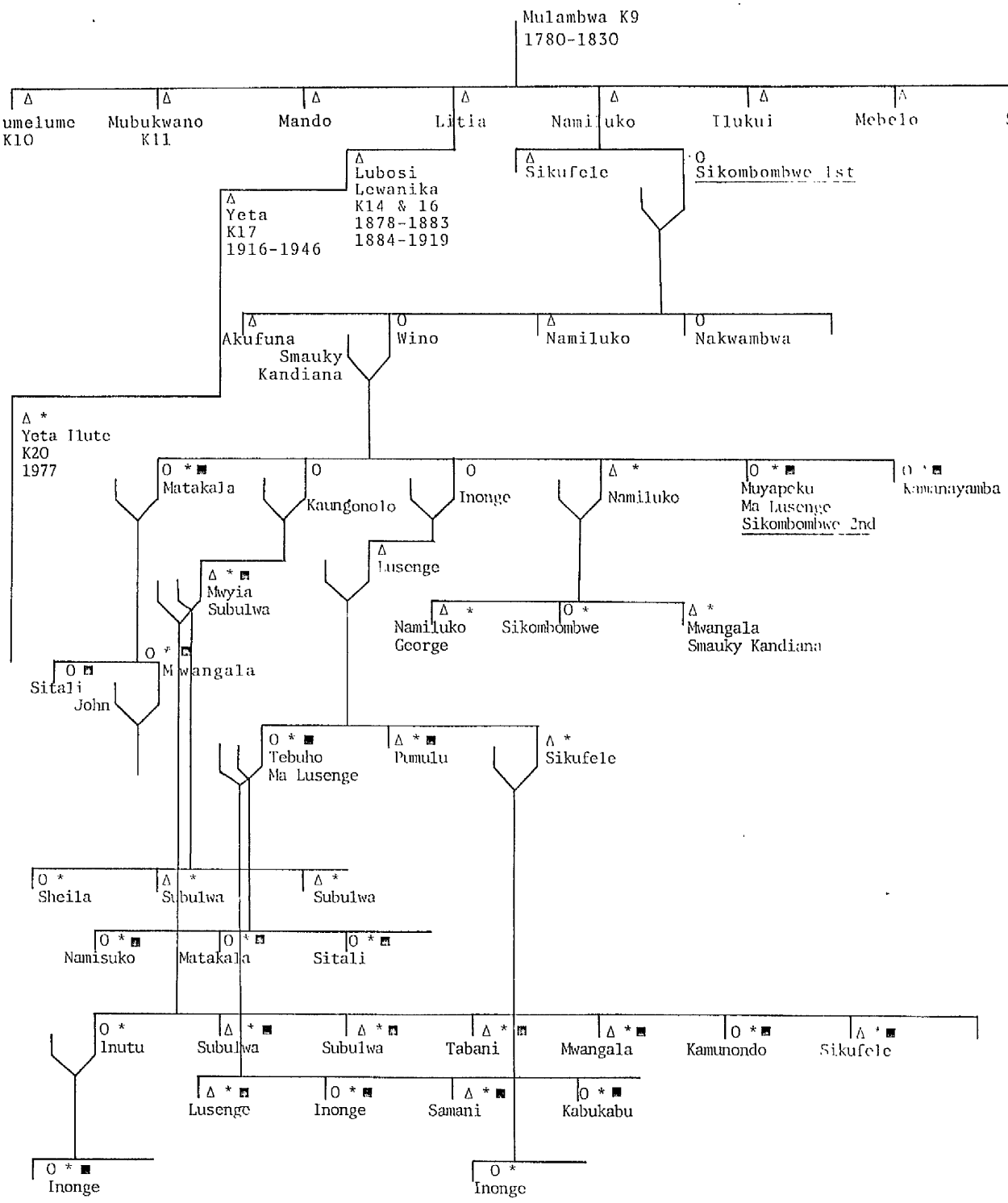
In the past, as I have said, a village sprang up when a man was allocated land, either as a matter of heritage or as a result of office and title, to start with maternal relatives or specially chosen subordinates as in the case of Namboma his own community. The acreage and type of land available determined the size of the village of which the founding father became headman. Succession to village headship with the title of the original founder was and is hereditary, but open to all male descendants who have to gain the confidence and vote of members of their extended family group to be chosen and finally approved.

At the peak of prosperity Namboma comprised 11

unrelated individual families. Only the descendants of two of these and some newcomers whose ancestors had some connections with the people of Namboma make up the population today. Even though Namboma has no more than title lands it was easy for Sakanungu, I was told, to gather followers who would also have helped him to till his land because, responsible as he was for the supply of provisions of the palace, he was entitled to his share of the tribute and thus he and his village never suffered want. Despite the tradition of patrilocal succession among the Lozi the present Sakanungu succeeded his maternal uncle. To be recognised and to come into his land rights he had to be chosen by the rest of the village as well as seconded by the induna and appointed by the king. His fortunes were, no doubt, favoured by the fact that the other village faction which is actually stronger in number also comprises only descendants of the female line. Johanny Sitali the only surviving original village member is childless and has gathered his sisters and their children around him. Thus the entire core of the population of Namboma has contravened traditional succession laws.

Figure 6 shows the genealogy of the extended family of Nanyando. Based on the information obtained from the family it does not give full and exact details of the whole royal family but tries to show the growth and development of Sikombombwe's family, merely indicating the relationship to the ruling faction.

FIGURE 6 GENEALOGY OF THE PEOPLE OF NANYANDO AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE RULING LOZI FACTION.



LEGEND:

Δ Male

O Female

■ In Nanyando

Relationship which produced children, not necessarily stable or even temporarily stable marriage.

* Living

SOURCE: Compiled by author M.Meister, based on information given by people of Nanyando. Does not show all Mulambwa's children nor full genealogy of present royal family.

As Nanyando is the foundation of a princess the village headship, under the title of her name, Sikombombwe, will traditionally remain with the female descendants of her line while men play a subordinate role in the family structure. Consequently the sons of Sikombombwe 1st returned to their father's country, the district of Kalabo,where their maternal grandfather Namiluko had been Lozi king in exile. My repeated questions as to the reason for their return received the same answer,

> 'It was a better place for them, they had more fish there.'

Obviously they were better off there as they could play a more prominent part in the social set-up of their father's family. Nakwambwa, one of Sikombombwe's daughters, it appears remained childless and it is interesting that her name does not reappear in the family today. All the inhabitants of Nanyando are therefore grand-, great-grand- and great-great-grandchildren of Wino who had married Smauky, one of the fishermen from the Kalabo district who had settled in the northern part of the village neighbourhood where he named his settlement site Kandiana. Namiluko, the son of this marriage, also returned to his father's village Kandiana where his children continue to live. The village of Kandiana, having been a mere wet-season settlement site, has very little garden land. Nevertheless it is a male dominated home base. If tradition had prevailed male descendants of a princess, excluded from the line of succession, would have swelled

the loyal ranks of the incumbent or his rival opponent as indunas, fishermen, hunters and warriors. With the old order changing they tried their fortunes as labour migrants.

Mwiya Subulwa and Lusenge, the sons of two of Wino's daughters, all of whom had remained in the village, also spent many years working as labour migrants. As Mwangala, the only obvious heir is childless the succession of the village remains contrary to traditional law with the descendants of Mwiya Subulwa and Lusenge, two male cousins, both of whom returned from migratory work. Lusenge's daughter and one unmarried son continue to live in the village as well as Mwiya Subulwa who, a remarkably young man for his seventy years, has still very young children. Mwiya Subulwa returned in the late 1960s after the death of his mother to succeed in her rights and possessions. If he had still been a minor he would not have inherited anything, all his mother's possessions would then have reverted to her sisters and he would in all probability have been sent to his father's village, to which strictly speaking he belongs. He told me that he was urged by his aunts to settle in Nanyando because they had no man to protect them and they wanted the children with them. The former is not really true because, both Mainonge his aunt and Mwangala his cousin are married and Pumulu the son of Lusenge lives in the village. But it appears that women of royal descent consider the men they marry of inferior status. Pumulu like Mwiya is one of their blood, but he is still young. It is

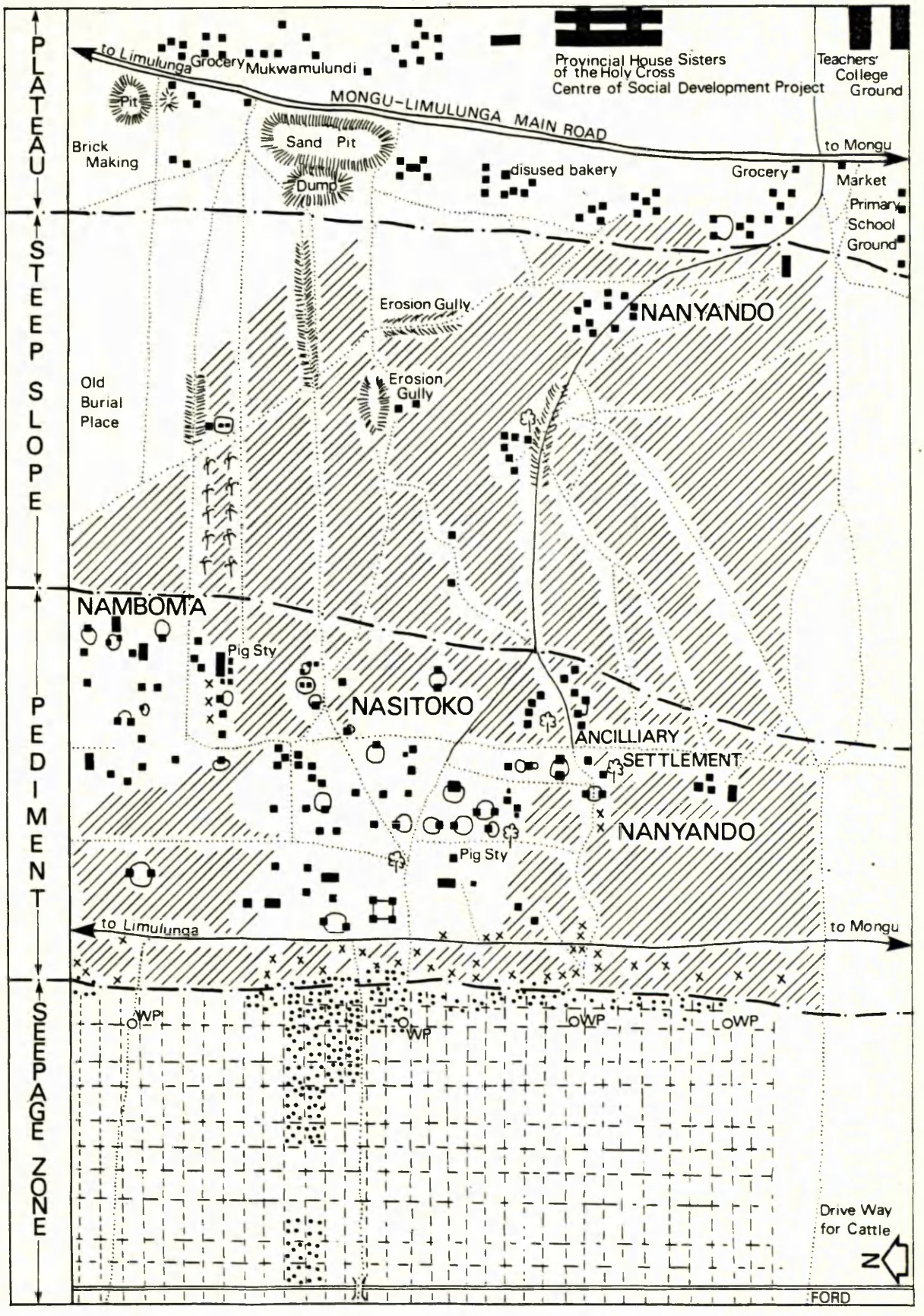
therefore more probable that Mwiya was asked to stay, he certainly plays a significant part in the life of the village. Nevertheless, he would hardly have been allowed to forget his true position apart from the fact that after more than 40 years' absence as a migrant he would have found it difficult to submit to domination of an elderly aunt. He therefore chose what he considered the best of every possibility open to him and built on his garden claim on the brow of the slope. The proximity to the main road is the main reason he offers for his decision (Fig. 7).

Similarly Ma Lusenge who married Alfred Siamani, a Lozi from the Lukulu District employed in the Teachers' College moved out of the village and built on her garden adjoining to that of Mwiya because, I was told, it was easier to maintain the peace of the family. In the main village her husband would have been subordinate to his wife and her aunts.

The children of Mwiya and Ma Lusenge are the future generation of Nanyando. Mwiya's older children who were born in South Africa never returned to the village. They have married and settled along the line of rail in Zambia. But the death of Sikombombwe II may relatively soon precipitate the question of succession between him and his children and Ma Lusenge and her children. None of the remaining sisters, I was told, or even Mwangala would be considered to succeed to the headship because of their age. This would make Ma Lusenge

FIG.7

Siting and Spatial Relations of Nasitoko Nanyando Namboma.



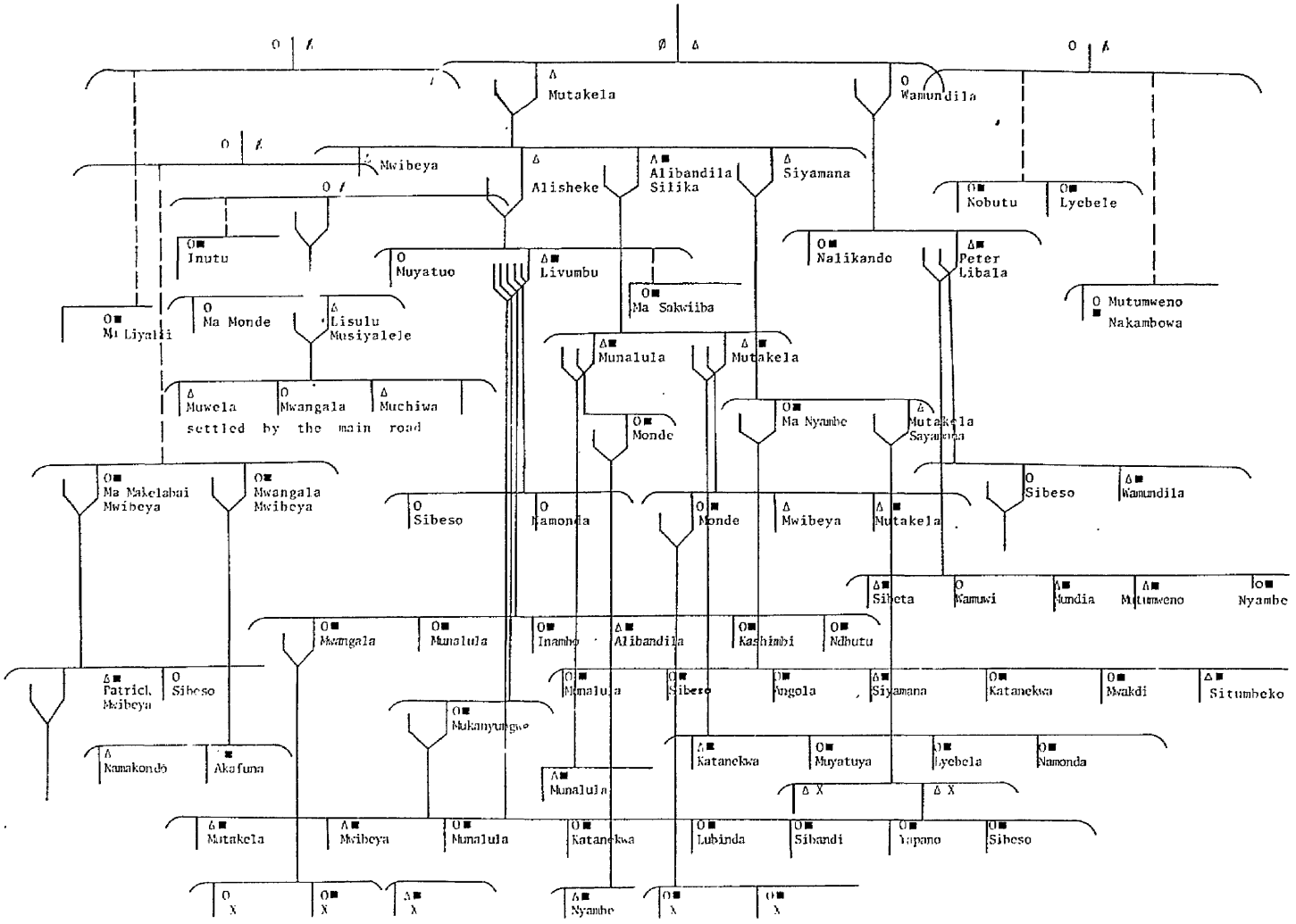
MAP COMPILED IN THE FIELD BY THE AUTHOR.

the obvious choice, Mwiya Subulwa, however, stated categorically that as a woman she is not entitled to a great deal of land, she relies at present he says on the claim of her absentee brother. Her children, moreover, he maintains have no right of succession at Nanyando but have to go to their father's home. It appears that after he himself circumvented the traditional patrilocal rule to safeguard his inheritance for his children he resorts to tradition to protect his own interest. Ma Lusenge has every right and claim to be chosen, her husband and sons have, however, little future in the village.

Development of Nasitoko is equally interesting and as closely knit by tradition as it is traditionally unconventual. Figure 8 illustrates the relationship of the core community of the village. The grouping of the people in the diagram corresponds closely to the actual housing sites of the villagers and I am told that traditionally the degree of relationship to the village headman determined siting within the village. This in the past gave rise to very crowded compact settlements on relatively confined sites. A visit to some of the villages in the plain can still convey some idea of this. On the foot of the slope (Fig. 7) sites are more spacious and dispersal of villagers to other areas for work has lessened the pressure. Those who remain also seem to have modified their ideas a little and spaced their houses also for privacy.

It was repeatedly pointed out to me that children,

FIGURE 8 EXTENDED FAMILY RELATIONSHIP OF CORO COMMUNITY OF NASITOKO PROPER



LEGEND:

Relationship not clear

0 | ∤ Borne by same mother but different fathers

Ø | Δ Borne by different mothers but by same father

Δ Male

0 Female

■ Staying in village during 1978/79

X Not known by name

Traditional marriage union and temporary relationship which produced children.

Names given are those by which villagers were known to the author.

Does not show all the children and relationships of villagers but concentrates on village community and members most closely connected with it.

SOURCE: Compiled by author M.Meister according to information given by the villagers.

particularly male children, never stay in their mother's village as their loyalty must be with their father and thus their dominance could be a threat to the heirs of his mother's family. Stephen Mupengo maintained that in the past offspring not claimed by their father had really nowhere else to go and had to stay in their mother's village. They were second-class people like slaves who had come from another tribe. Considering this, it is surprising that one of the most influential members in the village of Nasitoko, in full accord with the Livumbu and respected by all as the one who after the Livumbu is in full command, is Peter Libala, a maternal cousin of the Livumbu. Peter was not only allowed to stay in the village but came into considerable inheritance of traditional land through his mother. The unfailing explanation of anyone as to why Peter should have been able to stay and become an influential member in his mother's village was that his father never cared for him, so he had no right over him and Peter grew up as a full member of the village. There is no doubt, that, apart from knowing what is best for himself, Peter's personal qualities, especially his respect for authority and loyalty to his cousin were equally important in the confirmation of his acceptance in his mother's family. His position and right, moreover, were not challenged by pressure from descendants of the male line. Having been recognised and accepted by the present Livumbu it is not likely that the right of his children is being questioned later on.

Nawina Sibeta, sister of a former Livumbu, married Mukonde Kalima who came from the Senanga district and worked at Mongu. Mukonde Kalima could do with somewhere convenient to stay, but as husband who settled in the home of the wife he would have come under her complete domination. Thus he obviously was not prepared to live in the village itself. The extended family members of Nasitoko emphasise on the other hand that the Livumbu did not want his sister to go far away as they wanted to be sure she was treated well. As the village was still on the plain margin Mukonde Kalima was allocated a generous strip of land at the foot of the slope. This he could consider his own lease under the Livumbu where he could set up a home for his wife in which he had domestic superiority while he was nevertheless near and subject to her family. The union between the two did not only end in divorce but also was childless while Mukonde Kalima had three daughters by his other three wives. Consequently on this strip of land has grown up an ancilliary settlement of an unrelated family group (Fig. 7). In such close proximity relations must of necessity be good, thus after Kalima's death with no immediate male successor the female descendants accorded Livumbu the position of village headman as well as induna.

In more recent years the present Livumbu invited his half-brother by the same mother to live in Nasitoko. Lisulu Musiyalele who after his retirement as an interpreter at the governor's office in Mongu was appointed

treasurer at the traditional court at Lealui at first set up his homestead on the platform where Mango trees still mark the site. Later he moved into the village at the foot of the slope and as one of the first ones he moved up on to the plateau by the main road. His children obviously have little land right in the area, but they are all in paid employment. Three of them did avail themselves of the opportunity of a settlement site along the road where their father, who originally came from the Sefula area, had been granted to stay.

Among the present middle-aged generation of Nasitoko Savoy Siyamana, whose only brother and co-heir chose to join the police and to be posted elsewhere, decided to stay in her father's village and to work his share of the land which in traditional terms are considerable. Such apparent good fortune made it, it seems, worthwhile for her husband to accept the traditional curtailing of his rights and to stay in his wife's home. He is, however, at present building his home outside the village on the slope, where eventually he will come back into his position of domestic superiority and still be able to retain the use of the land.

Apart from the core of closely related families Nasitoko accommodates a number of older women who are mainly distant relations of the present generation. MaSakwiba, for example, was a maternal relative of one of the former Livumbu. Being orphaned at an early age he

brought her to Nasitoko where she grew up. She left the village repeatedly while she was married and when finally she decided to stay on her own she returned to it, considering it her home. MaSikota is a member of the Mingi community which has more or less dissolved. Though it was difficult to establish exact connections there is no doubt that the families of Mingi and Nasitoko are somehow related. MaSikota says she prefers to live in Nasitoko because it is not as wet as Mingi. Another woman was accepted from one of the neighbouring villages where she fell into disrepute and was maligned as a witch. Her lesser family connections are probably indicated by the distance between her house and the rest of the village.

The possibility of paid employment as a source of livelihood allows some people to live without land. When Lozi commoners and serfs attained their independence village structure was loosened and numerically weakened. Thus it is not surprising that headmen and indunas availed themselves of another possibility to strengthen their power and influence, which varies in proportion to the number of people dependent and subordinate to them, by offering settlement sites to friends and trustworthy applicants. These settlers may be Mbunda people, recent immigrants from across the Angolan border who came and live in extended family groups, or members of the Lozi and related tribes who came from other parts of the plain or plateau to work in Mongu. The following table gives some indication of newcomers into the immediate village

areas, it does not include the number of families and groups which settled along the main road where they are also considered as settlers on the induna's land and subject to his confirmation and control.

	Extended family group	Single family unit	Single man/ woman
Namboma		1	
Nasitoko proper	4	2	3
Nasitoko anc.		1	2
Nanyando	1		

The earliest independent settler is probably Mukwiza who joined Nasitoko village when it was still on the plain margin. Of Lozi extraction and one of the first men accepted into the community he has more generous land use rights than later arrivals, but does not make use of them. The family unit which joined the ancilliary village of Nasitoko is the grandson of Mukonde Kalima's sister and thus traditionally acceptable as a supportive member of the village provided he is no threat. As such Matamolo Kapika, a promising young man, was not only accepted into the weak village structure of his distant cousins, but as long as he knows and keeps his subordinate position, he was offered cultivable land not only by his cousins and ageing aunts but also by the Livumbu. Kapika gladly accepted the offer as he was out of employment and

to avoid both paying rent or returning to his father's place in the plain, he had chosen to ask to be allowed to stay there. One of the single families in Nasitoko is that of a brother of Angola, Savoy Siyamana's husband. The other individual units have no family connections and live there as it is conveniently near to Mongu their place of work.

Four of the five extended family groups are Mbunda whose distinctiveness is emphasised by their relative isolation from the traditional village as well as from one another. The fifth family of Lozi extraction from the southern plain margin has loose family ties with Mukonde Kalima whose sister became the headman's second wife. This group is typical of a fringe society between the old and the new economic order and tradition.

Settlers along the main road within the area include apart from the family members of Lisulu who, as already mentioned, settled in what is again known as Mukwa-mulundi (Fig. 7), three enterprising Lozi who saw some economic advantage in the location. Lutongo, a member of Nasitoko's extended family from Naende spent half of his 78 years in European domestic service. As early as 1943 he set up a grocery store, bakery and butcher's shop. His site was unfortunately not as advantageous with regard to the neighbouring educational establishments as that of 'Happy Grocery' which started up much more recently. Nor was it well placed with regard to settlements north-wards which are served by yet another store. Lutongo

thus transferred his commercial enterprise to Limulunga while he continues to live there with his sons and their families. The owner who inherited 'Happy Grocery' from his brother killed in an accident is still unmarried. He has the responsibility for his brother's children. His sisters and their children are also with him. Liswaniso, an old respected man from Lyondo village at the foot of the slope retired from the Rural Council and was re-employed as secretary at the royal court. He therefore stays at court and his house is more or less empty. On the adjacent property Stephens, a coloured man built his house while he was working in Mongu. As he no longer works there he wanted to sell his house and move elsewhere, but was unable to do so. He could remove the house brick by brick but not sell it to anyone else as it is up to Livumbu alone to admit anyone to settle within the boundaries of his administration. This illustrates clearly the long term risks taken by those who are not sure of their permanent residence and who decide to invest in more than traditional building structure within the village neighbourhood boundaries. This does not so much apply to the immediate village site at the foot of the slope where traditions are still strong and the steep slope as well as limited space are not attractive to settlers in paid employment in town who would invest in the building of a house.

On the Zambezi floodplain margin and adjoining plateau the control of local traditional rulers over land

outside the immediate village boundary is as long as transactions are not based on financial terms an arbitrary check. It does therefore not encourage economic change and growth, unless headmen and indunas do see great personal advantages and benefits in it. To counteract such limitations the old concept of land-use on the plateau being the prerogative of the king could be reinvoked and emphasised.

Just as attitudes towards the land so the traditional law of succession and the process of social evolution of the people in these villages have strong similarities with traditional practices still common in some rural communities in Southern Germany in the early 20th century. In Upper Palatinate, the north-eastern corner of the Freestate of Bavaria the termination of the feudal system created village communities of smallholding peasants around a landholding family. The practice of the smallholders supplying casual labour at times of peak demand continued well into the 20th century. Gradually progress in industrialisation and commerce attracted the labour force into the nearby towns and peasant holdings which had undergone considerable division and redistribution through inheritance were reconsolidated.

Similar evolution could be observed in the family structure and land management of the landowning families in this part of Europe. The earlier traditional practice was that the eldest son would inherit the

homestead and most of the land. To increase the acreage of his land he usually married a girl from the landed family in a nearby village. The entire family made a concerted effort to allow one of the children to follow formal and higher education and thus to enter a profession. Unmarried brothers and sisters - sometimes as many as three, as the families were large - remained in the family home where they were assured of accommodation and food as part of their inheritance and in turn helped to work the family fields including their own. The increased possibility of skilled, paid employment ended also this dependable source of labour on the larger farms and farmers were forced to change their methods, employ more hired labour, and eventually mechanise to become more productive. The evolution of the traditional Lozi structure and social system indicates similar trends which could well be exploited in the interest of development.

CHAPTER 5

DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE VILLAGES

Population Structure - Age, Sex, and Productivity

Figure 9 gives a composite picture of the structure of the population in the three villages. It comprises the people in the villages proper, including the extended family group of Lozi extraction on the fringe of the core community but not the Mbunda family groups or settlers along the road on the plateau above.

The imbalance in age and sex is obvious. Both might easily and quickly be related to the migration of men during their productive years and the return of some for retirement. The latter was indeed the case with two men, one in Namboma and one in Nasitoko, who with their present wives returned in the course of 1979. To avoid generalisation, however, which such conclusions would be based on and support, and to appreciate the greater complexity of demographic evolution, I attempt to analyse the structure of each individual village as shown in Figure 10a, b, c, d.

The people of Nanyando (Fig. 10a) are of Lui extraction. Despite the small number of people, the statistical representation shows the same structural characteristics. In this case the sexual imbalance is

FIG. 9

Population Structure of Nasitoko, Nanyando, Namboma.

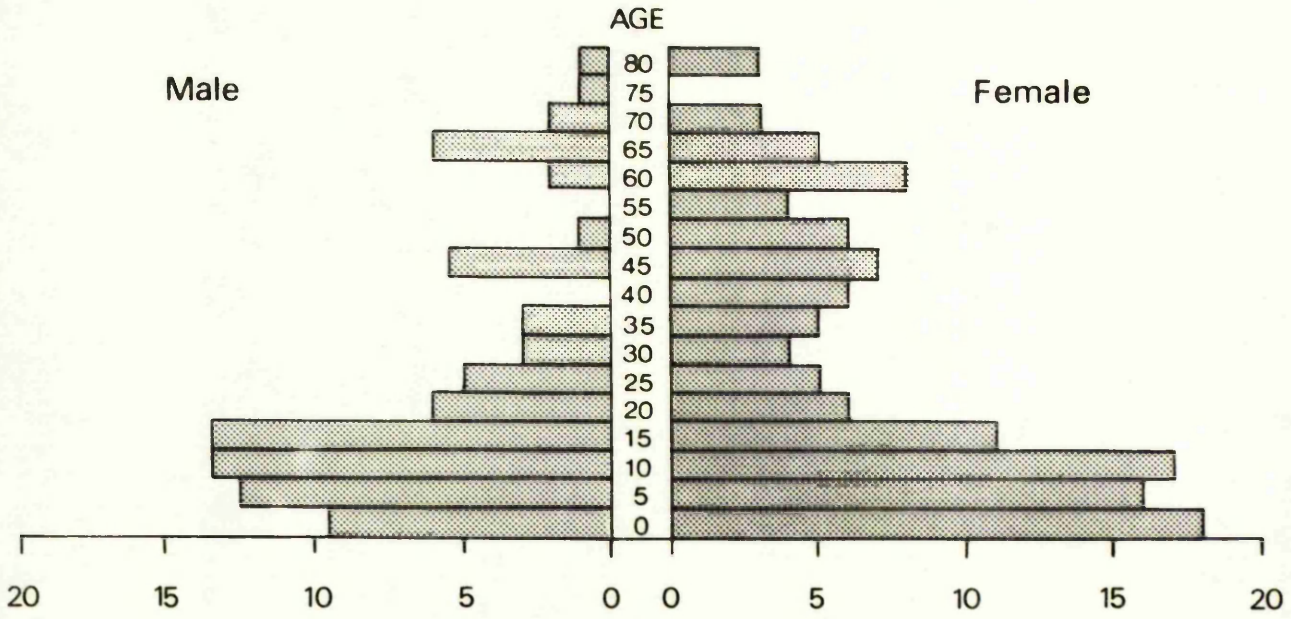
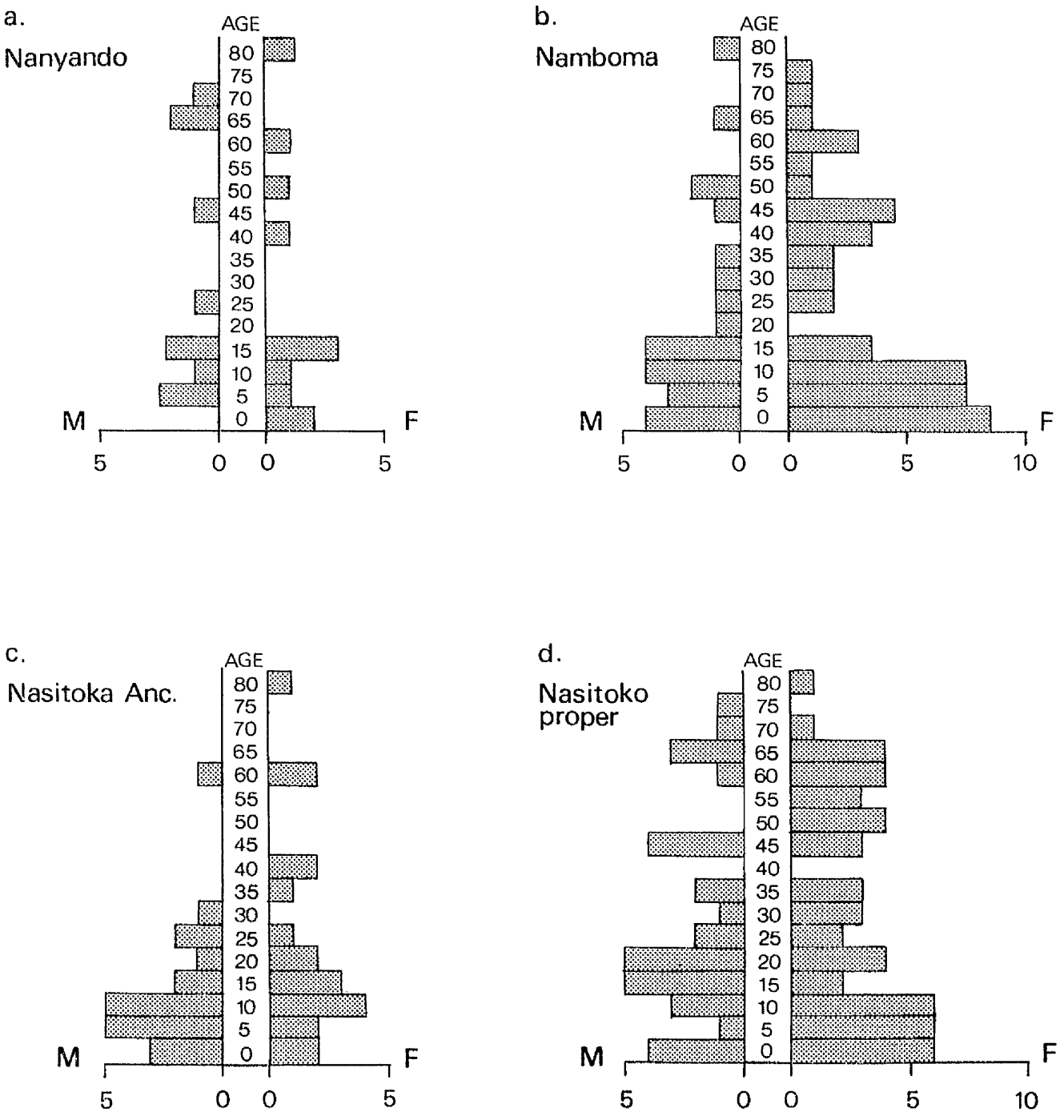


FIG. 10

Population Structure.



certainly affected by emigration. Members of both sexes in the 25 - 35 age range, all coming from the same family are living in urban centres. However, the root of the imbalance lies, as has been explained earlier on, more in the historical, social tradition which prompted the emigration of males than in the effects of economic change. The number of children is great compared to the limited number of people in the apparently energetic productive age group. This highlights the fact that men of considerable age, in this case 70 years, may still have a large dependent family. Only one male member of this community has on the other hand outside employment with a cash wage of little more than K32. With the exception of the oldest member, however, all, particularly the women, are productive in the traditional sense, cultivating land and keeping cattle. It must be remembered, however, that, not only are the land resources of Nanyando limited in extent and of poor quality, but the energy level of the older people is very low. Thus the community is, despite traditional productivity, not self-sufficient in food production. Even using more intensive production methods, the land is unlikely to support them all; thus the emigration of the younger generation, mainly children of the 70-year-old head of a still dependent family, became a social as well as economic necessity. Occasional financial gifts from emigrated members are an important monetary source for the old man and his young family. Another

emigrant, who apparently has strong claims to land which at present is worked by his sister, was most probably, as his forefathers by the traditional superiority of women in the village, prompted to leave.

The people of Namboma trace their roots to the plateau east of Senanga where the Totela people live. The oldest founder member recalls that at the turn of the century the village comprised 11 separate, unrelated individual families whose head had followed and worked for the original titleholder supplying provisions to the palace at Lealui. Changes in the traditional order which eliminated tribute from the tribesmen on the plateau to the Lozi capital, however, affected their livelihood and means of making a living. Thus all but the titleholder and his closest collaborator dispersed. The village as we have seen is, according to history and tradition, a relatively young one and consists mainly of the family groups centred round two male figures, descendants of the original founders. Namboma therefore changed from the functional settler group into a family settlement. There is little evidence of recent emigration of close family members. The village might rather be considered as passing through a consolidating stage. The structural composition (Fig. 10b), however, also shows a surplus of women over men. This is mainly so because unmarried and divorced women have returned to the village of their father or a male relative. Also three of the men are polygamists and at

present have two wives, but at the same time three of the men over 20 are not married. Polygamous marriages are largely responsible for the large families. But some of the children living in the village are staying with the brother of their deceased father or their maternal grandmother. At least three of the middle-aged and older women in the village appear to have had a number of illegitimate children some of whom are still dependent. Being of Totela origin, however, boys did not, as is customary in true Lozi tradition, stay in their father's village. Thus it might be asked whether the sexual imbalance already evident among the children may not also have genetic causes.

Namboma community has, as already explained, no claims to a compact land unit. With the exception of the headman, who has rights to title land, the families have little more than sandy or waterlogged gardens which are unsuitable for the production of maize, their staple food. The headman has approximately 10 head of cattle, participates himself in the cultivation of his title fields and works 5 days a week as master builder. Five of the men between 25 and 55 are employed, mainly as craftsmen, in nearby Mongu and one, at present unmarried, may be considered self-employed. The fact that this community springs from a tribal group which, with their crafts, supplied the traditional Lozi with goods seems to be apparent. The elder of the girls in the 15 - 20 year age group is working

in a social development project on the near-by mission station. Boys on the other hand, remain, except for casual traditional activity such as fishing, up to 20 fully dependent, attending evening classes if they have discontinued formal schooling.

The family group of the ancillary settlement of Nasitoko (Fig. 10c) comprises the relatives and descendants of the founder who came from the Senanga area in the south, probably of Subya origin. Popolo the only elder male is, however, Mbunda. The old founder, it seems, accepted him though he does not even speak the local language, for company and support. Popolo has taken one of the older women attached to Namboma as wife. The other two older women, mother and daughter, form an integral economic unit, almost completely divorced from the economic entities of the three distant nieces. While the older women continue traditional cultivation Popolo grows mainly vegetables for sale.

The three women aged 35 - 45, the only direct descendants of the former village headman and their children are the core and future generation of the settlement. All three have been married repeatedly and as all of them are divorced at present they have returned to the village of their father. History already begins to repeat itself as in April 1979 the daughter of one of them, who for about 10 years was married in the copperbelt area of Zambia, has returned with two of her children. Her unmarried

half-cousin lives with her second illegitimate son also in the village. The children represented in the diagram are hardly ever all there. Not only do a number of them attend boarding school, but in the school holidays they move between their father's and their mother's home. Boys from this community, moreover, frequently stay already in their pre-school years for considerable periods, if not for good, with their separated father.

The only complete family unit in the village is that of a young man who, unemployed for a long period, decided mainly for the sake of his children who attend the nearby primary school, to set up home in the village of his paternal great uncle. Another single male employed nearby as domestic servant has been accepted into the village.

According to patrilocal customs and traditions the village seems to be destined to remain for years to come a haven for separated, divorced single women.

The land claim of the ancilliary village though compact, is limited in size, does not include traditionally valuable land and consists mainly of sishanjo gardens. The fact that it is, with the exception of isolated patches, unsuitable for traditional crops has had severe adverse effects on cultivation as the traditional occupation of women. The young male relative has shown some interest in vegetable growing on the land allocated to him, but has now taken up paid employment again.

The family group of Nasitoko proper (Fig. 10d) is of Kwangwa origin who are said to be the original Alui

people living in the forested margin where after Mange's defeat they were renamed Kwangwa. The population structure resembles again everything that has been said before only in a more complex manner. Statistics shown do include the members of the extended Lozi family that has been allowed to settle on the village margin.

Of the core family only one man and four women have moved outside the village either through marriage or to work. It is interesting to note that the one man who as a member of the police force works and lives with his family elsewhere in Zambia is according to tradition and patrilocal succession the most likely successor to the village headship and indunaship. For him to live in the village in close proximity with the present incumbent would certainly have caused friction and difficulties. Thus even without political and economic changes he would, following tradition, probably, space permitting, have set up his own village within the area of his land rights but outside the immediate control of the ruling family. Under present circumstances he has left the inheritance of his land rights to his sister who with her husband, as it has been said earlier, broke the patrilocal tradition to avail herself of the privileges of their land rights. The emigrant will, however, in all probability return to the village and take on the title and land claims, should he at the death of the incumbent be chosen by the people to succeed him.

There are only two polygamous family units, one

of which is in the fringe community. Most of the elder women are near relatives and women who, having left their former village as a result of dispute or in search for a drier site, have been granted settlement rights. Many of these older women do have children, even if it is only one son or daughter, living and working in towns. But none of their children would under traditional control have much future in the village. They would, however, if there was no escape, and some would have had to stay, have swelled the work force, dependants and supporters of the village headman. Two septuagenarians living in Nasitoko have large dependent families. Five of the unmarried women in the village - three of whom are less than 25 years old - have dependent illegitimate children.

This family group is entitled to the largest acreage and variety of land, including traditionally valuable land. Especially older women of the core community engage in what may be called traditional agriculture. A typical economic activity, particularly for unmarried women, is the selling of home-brewed beer. This and other casual economic activities will be discussed later on. Only two of the villagers appear to have one or two cattle and only three of the men are in paid employment. One of the men married to a local girl recently gave up his paid employment in the nearby educational establishment and turned to full-time fishing. He has not returned to the village since and reportedly

left his wife and children without financial support over the last 8 months of 1979. Five young and middle-aged married men have no permanent employment, earning only a little now and again by casual work and fishing. A younger unmarried man has joined up with members from other villages in an attempt to co-operate in cattle buying and slaughtering and chicken raising. The enterprise was at the time of this study relatively young, but despite apparent profitability others joined and dropped out leaving him the only stable partner. Except for one young man in his early twenties who, apparently mentally retarded and ill, has found refuge in the village, all men in their early twenties followed full-time schooling. Two of these completed their primary schooling at the end of 1980 with no apparent prospects for the future. One of the teenage girls found on leaving school work in the social development project.

In some instances it is clear that male migration has influenced the sex structure of communities. If this is not directly the result of social traditions as in Nanyando, traditional forces certainly predisposed early labour migrants and present-day urban dwellers. Emigration of young people, particularly males who are about to start a family, is necessitated by the shortage of land and limited space for new family dwellings, unless as in the case of Namboma the people have never been attached to and dependent on the land in the locality for their

livelihood. The foundation of a village with maternal and female relatives was for the founder traditionally a form of insurance. Thus it appears there has always been a sexual imbalance in village population made up by polygamy if necessary. Today the consolidation of settlements on the valley margin does, however, not exclude progressive depopulation and dissolution of villages on the plain. At least two old women found refuge in Nasitoko when their closest family members dispersed from the plain. Many of the older women in the villages are childless. It appears therefore there is also a genetic factor responsible for the sexual imbalance. Traditionally this too would have fostered polygamy and necessitated special hereditary provisions for the security of single women.

Similarly the existing imbalance in the age structure cannot only be explained by emigration of the productive sector of the population. Old men, as has been seen, have not only several wives but also young wives who can bear them children well into old age. Illegitimate children born to relatively young girls stay with the mother until they are weaned and considered strong enough to move to the father's village. Those fathered by non-Lozi men appear to stay with the mother much longer, but with no rights and future in the village they frequently, unless conditions are as exceptional as in Namboma, move elsewhere when they start their adult life. Apart from older females who, as already explained, may attach

themselves to a community, older men too return from their place of work and retire in traditional surroundings.

Despite the limited number of recent emigrants it is nevertheless highly probable that Nasitoko lost some of its members in the middle-aged section when through political changes descendants of the female line as well as unrelated dependent families became free and found opportunities to move out. It is impossible to obtain details, facts and figures of such movements in the early 20th century but older people frequently do refer to the departure of people during this time. This loss of people must have affected the productive capacity of the villages, but as much of the extra goods produced was destined for the palace it is doubtful that it would have made much difference to the people still living in the area.

According to the number and dispersal of close relatives the number of dependent children does not appear to have been as great in the first half of this century. Today they are not only more but their contribution towards the community has decreased as attendance at school has become more common and desirable. Older people generally are still productive and most of them have, except for some gifts in money or kind from children now and again, to be self-sufficient and self-supporting. Despite the increase in population, the change in the political, traditional and social system nevertheless appears to have weakened productivity in the area not as a direct result

of emigration but rather through social changes and a lack of incentive and knowledge. For women cultivation activities were part and parcel of a well controlled traditional lifestyle. Apart from daily needs, traditional law and order provided the incentive and necessity compelled people to eke out an existence on less productive soil. Today's social and political order forces none of those who remain to till the land and there are few if any incentives around which might prompt them to do so. Nor, it must be remembered, have many access to traditionally valuable land which would enable them to grow crops they are familiar with. Thus generally the older women continue gardening as part of their way of life but among the younger interest in and activity on the land is minimal and erratic.

Under present circumstances not even the most active and enterprising villagers such as the Sakanungu of Namboma who is also fortunate in having several gardens, grow enough to support themselves and their families. Money such as is being earned by the nine men and two girls in permanent employment, averaging K500 a month or casual earnings through part-time work and the sale of fish and vegetables, is not only necessary for extraordinary expenses but has to supplement daily living. To spread this financial income which flows from the national economy to a larger number of people in the villages women in particular have started a village economic system

which will be referred to again later in this study.

Despite the apparent traditional way of life it is obvious that the traditional, social, economic structure has not only weakened but changed. But for the people to be able to support themselves and to raise their standard of living from below the poverty level and for the present young generation to be able to stay on and to build viable settlements even more integral change is necessary.

Family Structure and Social Order

Despite the extended family system individual family units are clearly differentiated and distinguished from one another, as they must have been in the past when every family was entitled to work gardens for their own supply.

Though the economic advantage of having several wives to cultivate as much land for the family as possible has largely fallen away there is at least one man, the Sakunungu of Namboma, who for this reason has two wives. It will be remembered that he 'inherited' his land rights in Namboma from his mother's line. He has, however, also traditional land rights about 2½ hours' walk away out on the plain which came to him through his father. Sakunungu himself, a master builder, is keen, alert and progressive. He is nevertheless very conscious of traditional Lozi values.

While he himself working as a builder prefers to stay near Mongu where he works he has married a woman of Lui extraction who is prepared to spend the dry season in the home on the plain to cultivate her husband's land. At regular intervals, especially over weekends the Sakanungu walks out into the plain to see to his interests and visit his wife. At the same time he needs a woman in the home on the plain margin, who would keep house, cultivate some of his gardens and make a home for the children of his various marriages who for most part of the year stay there to attend school nearby. His choices in this respect were less fortunate and for various reasons he now has wife number 5, a woman in her late forties whom he brought only about three years ago to this home. Consequently there are no children from this marriage, though Emilia herself has previously been married and has seven children of her own. In my dealings with her I found again and again that her life and interest centred very much on her own children who, when not at boarding school, lived with her sister in her father's village. It is difficult to understand why a woman who is qualified to teach needlework in a primary school should have chosen to leave this work to become a second wife with little hope of having her own children within this marriage. She told me repeatedly that she did not know Sakanungu already had a wife until both of them actually met in the village. Her all-round efficiency and schooling make Emilia an admirable wife for a man with some standing and influence

in the neighbourhood and now being there she obviously also enjoys sharing the status of her progressive husband. She not only cultivates some of his gardens - as village headman he is entitled to more than she could cope with and he actually participates in cultivation after work and over weekends - but Emilia also works some of her own gardens on the plateau. This and other activities such as knitting and sewing for selling enable her to make some money for her children. Thus the desire to leave again does not seem very great. During the flood season both wives stay of necessity in the one village, in a brick house Sakanungu has built for himself with a living room, storeroom, and a sleeping room for each of his wives.

There are no economic advantages or benefits for the other two men in Namboma who work in Mongu and have no land rights. But traditional status of land rights which enabled a man to have more than one wife is now being replaced by a financial income which enables them to have more. One of the younger men in the neighbourhood, who as a practising Christian would never have admitted his desires for a polygamous family retorted spontaneously to an account of my young nephew and his savings, 'He will be able to have two wives one day'. Traditional status therefore tends to override economic considerations.

Traditionally it was desirable for wives in a polygamous marriage to stay in the home or 'Yard' of the husband though they might no longer have been in his favour.

This was for the sake of the children who are not as well cared for by other wives. This tradition has, however, broken down and many children are left with the father once they can be on their own. Even the polygamous union of the Livumbu who is the pillar of tradition in the area has been reduced to two wives and for a considerable period of time one of these two had left by apparently mutual consent. The reason, I was told by the woman's son, was that both father and mother drank heavily and when drunk quarrelled and gave scandal in the home. It, however, appears that there was also another man involved as the Livumbu would only agree to an official divorce under the condition that his exwife would not get married to a certain man. She in turn did not agree to the condition and shortly before I left the area the woman had returned to Nasitoko to make another attempt at living together.

An important aspect of a traditional polygamous family is the number of children to consolidate the father's family and testify to his masculinity. Men in the village commented on and queried the virility and magic used by an influential man from a neighbouring village who is said to have fathered 58 children. The sad lot of women on the other hand, who may have been married as often as five times and remained without offspring is seen in many older women in each of the villages. With changes in the economic and social structure it is not surprising that many men

find it easier to consolidate their family through illegitimate children. At least two of the younger men, who believed they spoke for many men of their own generation, said that having two wives in the home is too troublesome; it causes too much jealousy, but to keep a mistress outside the home is all right. After all, what they want, one of them said, is the children. This attitude does not appear to be entirely the outcome of change. One of the two men traces his paternal ancestry to a great grandmother, a girl who served at Lewanika's court and who when pregnant was sent home to be given as wife to one of the indunas of the area. The misery and mental suffering of one of the men in Namboma, whose marriages have all remained childless is indeed very great. It has become his consuming passion to prove himself and his masculinity. The Livumbu having had four wives has at least one daughter by a woman he did not marry, in the traditional sense, but the practice of consolidating the family by illegitimate children appears to be even more common among the younger married and unmarried men. One of the younger married men associated his increased extra-marital sexual activity with the fact that he was out of work, once he returned to work he said he had no more time to visit other women.

Those who practise polygamy say that they are able to avoid jealousy and please each one of their wives by not favouring any of them. The disguise is however very poor. The jealous guarding of personal rights causes at

the best of times strained relationships easily apparent even to a comparative stranger as myself. For a long time the youngest of the women in Namboma was visibly emotionally upset because her husband brought a second wife to the home. The newcomer too did not find things to her liking and stated that she had not known she would be the second wife. After only one week she returned to her father's village whence the husband followed her again. The parents obviously would have had to return the bridal price so they insisted that she was married and had to stay with him.

The bridal price varies today mainly according to the years of schooling. A man may have to pay as much as K200 if his future wife has completed a primary school education. Men do want to marry a virgin and are not prepared to give as much, if they do give anything, for a girl who has already borne a child. Thus a man who fathered a child out of wedlock has, apart from his responsibility for the maintenance of the child, the duty to pay damages to the father of the girl. This may be almost as much as the bridal price which of course he will not get anymore.

With the predominance of women in Lozi society, the unenviable position of women in a polygamous marriage, an attitude that woman is not a full person unless she has borne a child and with the somewhat indomitable nature of Lozi women it is not surprising that many opt to have one or more children outside marriage which in a way is a

passport to a free life as a respected person. One of the most common reasons given by men for divorce or separation is

'the woman was too cheeky'.

If a woman flees from her husband's home her parents have to repay what they have received; if on the other hand she would be sent away by the husband he would have no claims for compensation. This applies mainly to a relatively young woman who coming to the home and into the family of her husband, has to obey and serve every member so as to ingratiate herself to the family. If on the other hand, I have been told, an older woman separates having worked for her husband and his children for many years she is, besides her cultivating tools, entitled to a fair share of the household utensils which she may take with her. Strictly speaking under traditional law everything - even the dresses a husband may have bought for his wife - belong to him and he may tell her to leave returning all his dresses to him. Among the causes for divorce cited to me, suspected infidelity is also common and grievous because it undermines a husband's security. A wife who no longer wants to please him may work magic on him or poison him. These are the very words used by men at a meeting held in Mongu in an attempt to bring about changes in the law of inheritance and succession which at present disinherits any wife and minor children in favour of the husband's family.

There is also noticeable jealousy among the

children by various wives. A boy's comment,

> 'My father never brought the mother of this girl to our yard'

contained a strong if guarded air of superiority over her. Thus unless a man is not only economically but also practically and emotionally strong the very attempt at consolidating his position may actually undermine it.

Only one of the polygamous men in the villages has a home or yard surrounded by a fence which joins up the two traditional houses, one for each wife, the others have, if not a brick house, a rectangular adaptation of the more traditional dwelling, which is divided into at least two rooms. Children do not share the house of their mother but in Namboma and Nasitoko boys and girls unless they stay with an older relative of the same sex, sleep together in their respective group in a house provided by the headman of the village. In the ancilliary villages of Nasitoko and Nanyando children are not grouped as such but sleep in one of the rooms of the family home or a grass structure which holds cooking utensils and serves as kitchen during the rains.

Once children come of marriageable age they will be given their own house which will be placed as near as possible to their father's dwelling. The position of dwellings thus gives a good indication of the closeness of family ties between the various villagers.

Though the children may suffer some lack of understanding and emotional deprivation through the absence

of their mother as can be seen in at least two of the major families, they nevertheless have a strong sense of security in their father's home. Security stemming from parental control and discipline is further strengthened by traditional values. The latter appear to be even more advantageous in one of the families where they are matched by adjustment to social, economic and political changes. Under such circumstances even emotional differences and personal strife are submerged in the respect for the authority of the head of the family and life appears to be harmonious and peaceful. One-parent families - mothers who retain the care of their growing children - particularly if there is not a very strong sense of the extended family as is the case in the ancilliary village of Nasitoko, do not have the same harmonious discipline and co-operation. The problem seems to be aggravated by the fact that children move about between their father's and mother's home. In order to retain the affection, respect and subsequent support of their children both parents, but as far as I could see particularly mothers, succumb to their children's demands, consequently they participate during holidays very little in the work of the family and constantly request pocket money, clothing and special food. Generally this leads to the very opposite parents hope to achieve, a loss of respect for elders which is one of the main pillars of social order in traditional Lozi society.

Among villagers today respect for their elders

- the village headman and induna at the top of the hierarchy - is still the key factor in smooth family and social relationships. Newcomers who have been welcomed to settle in the village show a very high degree of deference to the village headman and induna. A young man who had complaints about his wife, who on independence day went out with unmarried girls to enjoy herself neglecting the children while he was out on the plain trying to buy fish and milk, took her to be admonished by the wife of the village headman as he felt he was not very successful in correcting her.

Children in the neighbourhood who do not grow up with this discipline and respect appear to have problems and do cause problems for the people around them. In the ancilliary village of Nasitoko two young men who had very little paternal control in earlier years have fallen short of the law. One I was told is serving a jail sentence for stealing and thieving in the villages items such as produce and clothing for selling. The other who had abducted three cows and sold them to butchers completed his term in jail during 1979. On returning to his mother's house he secretly sold more than 20 fishing nets she had invested in and stored in a suitcase. When he was discovered he left home again and little was heard of him after that. Though father and mother of the former appear to have lived and died in the village, land held by them was reallocated to indicate that he would no longer be welcome if he returned.

Family ties and structure go obviously beyond the immediate village and most of the villagers have relatives in many parts of the plain, some few are more orientated towards the plateau. Mr Simalumba, a recognised local historian, confirmed my observation that all people in the valley of Lui origin are related to the royal family but corrected it saying that royalty cannot be recognised beyond the 5th generation. I am not quite sure how he would interpret this. It is obvious that if sovereignty passes to another male strain of the family the one which held it in the first place becomes decidedly removed from the claim. Members of other tribal origins have been integrated and interrelated through marriage. All the Lozi people of the valley therefore seem to be interrelated to a greater or lesser degree.

Closest family ties may go directly across the valley and it is important that relationships are being upheld. This is being done by visiting. The village neighbourhood has probably more visitors for short and longer stays than may be the case elsewhere because it is so near to Mongu, the provincial administrative and commercial centre. But villagers from the area also cross the plain, sometimes walking for the better part of a day, particularly if a relative is ill or has died. A message of ill-health from a woman suffering neuralgic toothache brought her son and family all the way from the Copperbelt nearly 800 km away. It is important to indicate in difficult times one's solidarity with the family

if one does not want to become suspect of having wished the ill fortune on them.

During school holidays children came particularly to Nasitoko and many others from the four villages went out into the plain to stay with grandparents. This is particularly so if the family has no permanent settlement rights where they are living and therefore has to uphold the claim to rights in their own parents' or grandparents' village. In one instance the grandparents came to stay in Nasitoko where two of their sons had settled and stayed for at least 6 months in a temporary shelter put up for them. Such exchange I was told is important so children will know, acknowledge and support their elders at a later stage. Failure of such positive relationships not only causes friction and ill-feelings but a reinforcement of witchcraft by parents who are afraid of being abandoned when they are old. With the experience that young people leave for the towns and disown their parents - stories which are repeatedly being told - fears and practices of witchcraft remain strong. It is however, also apparent that excessive demands of parents upon their children, particularly if they are educated or in good employment nearby, wreck the life and chance of a young couple. It appears that to escape this, many young people who hope to make a life for themselves outside the strictly traditional style and structure, move as far away as possible. If, however, they do not succeed or also once they have succeeded

and earned retirement, and they return to the villages they will be welcomed by relatives according to gifts and messages through which they have kept in touch from time to time.

Though I have nothing to support my opinion, I have a strong feeling that in the past celebrations and festivities have played a greater part in fostering social order and co-operation. Today the birth of a child who is to be welcomed into the family still calls for rest from work and a celebration. Initiation ceremonies remain the most prominent occasions for joyous celebrations and bereavement enjoins all friends and neighbours to mourn with one. In the course of the year I spent in the villages there were few occasions which called for an emotional response towards the community in which they live. The most spontaneous outburst of happiness, drumming, singing, dancing and feasting followed the successful outcome of a court hearing concerning a land question in which Livumbu was the defendent. It revealed the deep feelings, ties and relationships which are buried under everyday routine. Never did I notice any celebrations to mark the new moon which I was told was traditional. The observance of Sunday and Christian worship do not seem adequate compensation for this need. Almost continuous beer drinking at any time of day and in any season, not only by men but also by women, seems to have crept in to fill a vacuum which former community celebrations have left. This lack

of substitution seems to be aggravated by a sense of frustration generated by a lack of incentives in a life in which changing and disappearing traditional aspects and assets are inadequately compensated for.

Diet and Dietary Habits

Despite the conscious amalgamation and consolidation of people from various tribal roots into the Lozi nation noteworthy differences in their way of life and particularly their diet can be detected.

A thick maize paste cooked in water known as bohobe and an accompanying dish known by the English translation 'relish' form the main diet in the villages today. Those closer to the Lui tradition may use a mixture of pounded sorghum and maize to cook bohobe, among descendants from the forest people pounded dried cassava may be mixed with maize or cooked on its own. A hut-like structure on stilts was traditionally used to store and dry maize and sorghum before it was taken off the compound fruit. After threshing the grain used to be stored in a similar but smaller structure, smeared with clay and provided with only a small opening. Only one of each of these remain in the villages today indicating that harvests are small and grain, as long as supplies last, is kept in bags or sacks in the main house.

Differences are also found in the ingredients of

relish. The plain-orientated group favours above all fish, meat and sour milk for an accompanying dish while those coming from the dry forest area seem to use herbs, wild fruits, roots, leaves, mushrooms and caterpillars in season. Collected foods are not only seasonal but have become incidental depending on what women do find on their way to the fields. Though several villagers have chickens and ducks they do not eat eggs. Several times I was told that they did not do so because they would not get chicks if they ate eggs. Nevertheless eggs are often given as presents to Europeans. Girls in boarding school are very reluctant to eat eggs. It appears therefore to have a much wider connotation with regard to fertility. This does not include birds' eggs which are being eaten as delicacies. Formerly, I was told, the Lui people did eat vegetative substances such as the stems of water lilies, but as sorghum and maize have been introduced and become more common such traditional foods seem to be ignored. The forest people usually added some oily fruits particularly mongongo as a source of fat to their relish. River people who lived on fish, meat and milk had ample fat supply. Today however, cooking oil when available provides for this need. As the traditional Lui foods have become costly and scarce their descendants too have taken to cooking a type of spinach from pounded cassava leaves to be eaten with bohobe.

Frequently no main meal is prepared unless there are good victuals for relish. Because of their scarcity

only family units with a strong traditional core have fairly regularly a daily main meal. Though people of Lui origin or with strong Lui affiliation are not accustomed to vegetables on a large scale villagers do not refuse them on principle as is the case with students in secondary schools. They particularly like a type of kale known as Chimoleau, cabbage, Chinese cabbage, league, onions and red peppers. But as they grow hardly any of these themselves they would not spend money on buying them. It is noteworthy that some of the popular vegetables such as kale and cabbage have a high vitamin C content. When some of the families started growing vegetables home consumption took priority over sale for which I had initiated it. Consequently main meals became more regular and substantial. The controlled price for fish in 1979 (for which, however, fish were only rarely available, and which has probably risen since) of 50ng per kg is beyond the means of most people without a regular income. Thus an old couple in Namboma resorted to setting a fishing basket in the drainage channels of the sishanjo where they caught very small fish almost nothing but head and tail which they dried whole before cooking. The Livumbu has traditional claims to the fish in two small lagoons along the boundary of his territory. The catch in the 1978 season was after it had been dried little more than relish for a few days for his family. Apart from the little fish people are able to buy, they depend on fishing for themselves or gifts from the plain to provide the most traditional and valued

ingredient of their diet. Occasionally beef is sold in the vicinity when most people are anxious to buy tripe or cheaper meat to get the most they can for a few ngwe. For special occasions or celebrations a chicken from their own yard may find its way to the cooking pot. Between April and November milk is more plentiful and sour milk for relish is sold and bought by the cup.

In Lui tradition men used to make a significant contribution to meals supplying mainly the ingredients for relish. But women too engage in some fishing. Among the forest people collecting of the various foods was obviously the task of women, but men supplied the booty of the hunt. Lozi tradition today maintains the custom that the provision of relish is the responsibility of the man. With the traditional ways of procuring these foods almost ruled out villagers like to do so by earning a wage and supplying the wife with money. Often they also buy the goods themselves. Consequently the supply of food and frequency of meals begins to fluctuate with a cash income.

Maize and cassava may be eaten freshly cooked or roasted on a fire. Kapumba, a type of cassava which grows on the drier plain margin is less bitter and therefore can be eaten raw, roasted or cooked. Also sweet potatoes and litoo or Bambara nuts, a type of bean which tastes a little like peas, are important supplements. Such foods are important substitutes in the rainy hunger months November/December, when grain supplies have run

out and are too expensive to buy. At any time these foods are generally eaten in a more casual way when there is no relish for a main meal. In the course of 1979 young boys with large trays of bread rolls passed regularly through the villages and particularly younger women with some money indulged themselves with bread rolls and very sweet tea. All the villagers are very fond of bread, but bread, sugar, and tea are considered as luxuries.

Mangoes and bananas are the main types of fruit available and eaten in the villages. Some families also have oranges, guavas and pawpaw. Mango is by far the most prevalent and also eaten more readily, it seems, because it grows singly. Bananas growing in bunches have to be eaten quickly once they are ripe and a whole bunch is too much for an individual family if they do not want to share it among the larger family circle. For sale, on the other hand, they have to be disposed of quite some time before they are ripe. The villagers derive therefore very little additional food value from bananas. The craving of the people for fresh fruit and the vitamins contained in it is evident in their early attempt to eat raw mangoes long before they have fully ripened, only to find that they do not taste yet, and therefore they are thrown away. Many more are, however, wasted when the season starts. With a limited local market and no known, practical cooking and preservation facilities, tons of fruit appear to rot away on the ground. Most of the other fruits which occur in more limited quantities are being sold.

In the few compound families women, either one of the wives or a daughter, take turns in preparing the meal. During October until February when there is work on the land the preparation of the meal was usually started in the late morning on return from the field. At other times particularly when it was cold and they rose later the meals too seemed to be later in the day. None of the people in the villages had much in the way of breakfast, though settlers higher up on the road frequently have a kind of maize porridge with sugar if they can afford it. Obviously women who start digging the gardens in the early morning and children who return late in the day from school have very little energy resource to fall back on.

The main meals are, unless there is continuous rain, cooked in the open yard over a fire between three stones and fed by three logs pushed on from the sides between the stones. Traditionally food has been served in carved wooden dishes which, provided with a wooden lid, kept the meal warm for a very long time. During the colonial era enamel dishes manufactured in the traditional shape were quickly imported and as they were less sensitive to the sun, which cracks the wooden vessels laid out for drying, they quickly replaced the traditional dishes; only the older people still serve their meals in them. The meal is followed by a drink of water traditionally stored in a clay flask, wooden jar or calabash depending on the tribes from whom it was obtained by barter. Now

water is mainly stored in buckets which also are less delicate for transporting the water from the well. It is drunk from an enamel cup rather than a calabash.

Unless there is only casual food and eating, meals are taken traditionally sitting around the two main dishes. Bohobe is rolled with the fingers and dipped into the dish of relish. After eating all washed cooking utensils are dried on a specially constructed drying rack which today only few of the most traditional families retain. Wooden implements have, as already mentioned, to be dried with care to prevent them from being cracked in the sun. It appears that the display of cooking utensils and dishes on the drying rack is something of a status symbol; obviously in days gone by few families were in the fortunate position which gave them much surplus to barter with. Lack of storage facilities and accommodation make it impossible to keep any leftovers which under prevailing climatic conditions would certainly not keep well. Thus leftover food is looked on with great suspicion and anything that might be left from a meal is being thrown away. When camping out an attack of Zului (warrior ants) taught me not to leave remnants of food and unwashed dishes for the night.

If there is a main meal it is eaten with great devotion and solemnity in silence. Men eat together on their own, women eat together with the children to teach them manners and correct eating habits. Boys who

have matured and acquired proper eating habits may join the men. The meal commences and ends with an almost ceremonial washing of hands, unless there is milk for relish in which case hands are not washed after the meal but simply rubbed dry and clean, in deference to the cow - not to offend her I was told. At the same time the milk has of course also a lubricating effect on the skin which no doubt the older people were very much aware of. When fish is being served it is the privilege of the head of the family to eat off and suck the head bones. Drink is served in cups filled to the brim with a plate to catch the spillage to convey the fact that there was no room in it for any poisonous substances. In some families I partook of the meal in the company of the men and with consideration for me they spoke especially when in my early ignorance I started to break the silence which expresses great respect for the food they eat. This respect most certainly goes back to days when food was not very plentiful either and had to be eaten with appreciation. Meals are still invariably followed by a period of rest in the shade or in the cool season in the sun.

As sorghum and maize established themselves brewing of beer became more popular. But in Lozi society, it appears beer did not, as in other tribal groups in Central Africa, have the traditional function of stretching the limited grain supplies, probably because grain was not really traditional. Legislation against drinking under

Lewanika and Yeta indicate the rapid tendency with which the people took to the inebriating drink for more than the occasional celebrations and sustenance during the hunger months. In the villages as well as in the area around them brewing has, as already mentioned, become a necessary economic activity for women.

Besides sorghum and maize a large petrol drum and ample supply of firewood are necessary to cook the drink generally referred to as 'seven days' because of the time it takes to prepare it. In Mukoko village near Mongu women operate from a central beer kitchen in which they brew their supply in turn, but further away from the town where the market is more limited the chime of an iron bar against the beer drum announces in the early hours the availability of the drink at a particular location. Women from the neighbourhood come to buy wholesale, a bucket full for 50 ng, which they retail at 5 ng a cup. Frequently seven days' beer is stretched by diluting a cup of it in a bucket of water with sugar and allowing it to ferment in the heat of the sun. Sipesu, the final product, is said to be much stronger than the fresh beer. Taste and strength of beer obviously vary thus neighbouring women may sit together chatting and enjoying each other's company as prospective customers taste all the brew before they make their choice. Such social drinking continues not only throughout the year regardless of season but, starting in the early mornings of the hot season, it increases as the sun rises in the

sky to quench the thirst. In the cold, damp mornings of the cooler season it helps to warm up the limbs and enliven the spirits. In more recent years an even stronger drink, Katchebembe, distilled from fermented wild fruits has become popular. Sources of supply are quite near and frequented by the men but not actually found in the villages concerned.

The brewing can obviously only be done by women who have home-grown grains or a financial backing to buy the ingredients. While within the limited neighbourhood it appears that women take it more or less in turns, the women in more stable, traditional families seem to have less time to engage in it. If they did so they disposed of the entire brew wholesale. At least one husband forbade his wife outright to have anything to do with brewing or selling. Retailing is mainly done by single women certainly not least because husbands object to it.

Observing what appear today as traditional or at least traditionally evolved customs and practices one is led to conclude that while meals may have been large at one sitting they were not all too frequent and varied. The pleasure of eating was relegated to special occasions and at other times eating was an exercise of devotion in order to survive. There is today great emphasis on slow recollected eating of whole foods to counteract the stress and strain of living in our hectic Western society. This surely may be taken to point towards the health hazard the loss of this very custom may be for people who, without

much chance for adaptation, were thrown into our technological age.

Traditional foods of fish, milk, wild fowl were sufficient for a relatively small number of river people and wild fruits, herbs, mushrooms, birds and buck offered a variety to the forest people. But even if fewer people had left the valley during the early migration period and those remaining had continued with the indigenous food supply system, it is unlikely that it would be sufficient to support them today, as adequately as it may have done in the past. There has been an increase in population as well as a depletion of resources by destruction of the environment and improved methods of fishing and hunting. Meals have therefore not only become more irregular but also less substantial and less nutritious. Formerly in the season when food was less prevalent which has been part of the natural rhythm men and women conserved energy through periods of rest. It must therefore not surprise us if a natural reaction to survive on a minimum level of nutrition tends to border on what we might call lethargy which militates against productivity. Life and development in the villages appears therefore to have reached an impasse. Tradition and scarcity of supply do not suggest and prompt adaptation to a healthier body-building, energy-giving diet. If the people are to engage in more intensive productive activity, if only to be self-sufficient, it must start by them being fed adequately.

The summary so far concentrated mainly on the traditional and economic factors affecting the diet of the people. Nothing has been said about its nutritional value. A study of this nature can obviously only draw attention to the most elementary aspects of food science. In general it may be said there is no severe shortage of food, though hunger periods tend to get longer as the local economic situation deteriorates. Erratic supplies of valuable foods such as fish, meat and milk have averted severe protein deficiency and supplied some of the necessary vitamins and minerals. The present level of consumption of such foods is, however, most certainly inadequate to sustain a healthy, active life. There is a dearth of fresh green vegetables which would help to strike a balance.

Though vitamin deficiency may result in less overtly dramatic diseases of malnutrition than protein deficiency it nevertheless generally lowers resistance to a wide variety of attacks. Plimmer says that scurvy resulting from lack of vitamin C is popularly believed to be a skin disease, but it really is a disease affecting the whole system. Lack of vitamin C affects the walls of the blood vessles, the gums, teeth and bones. The onset is gradual and foreshadowed by a feeling of great fatigue not relieved by sleep. There is a headache, and a disinclination to exertion. Pains and swellings in the joints and limbs are caused by haemorrhages into the muscles. Large haemorrhages may cause such intense pain in the limbs that they cannot be moved. The gums ulcerate and bleed,

teeth become loose and may fall out. Degenerative changes in the bones make them brittle and easily fractured. Many apparently unrelated symptoms observed in people can be traced to vitamin A deficiency. The main function of vitamin A, he says, is to keep the lining of the mucous membranes in all the parts of the body healthy. If vitamin A is insufficient the surfaces of the mucous membranes become hard, rough and corny, a process known as keratinisation. The conjunctiva of the eye, the linings of the respiratory, digestive and urogenital tracts become clogged with dead epithelial cells and the ducts of salivary, lachrymal and other glands may be blocked. This cell debris is a fertile soil for the growth of all kinds of micro-organisms. Xerophthalmia, an eye infection in children, is a special instance of keratinisation. It is recognised by the swelling of the eyelid, followed by inflammation of the conjunctiva. Because the lachrymal glands do not secrete tears bacteria grow quickly on the dry conjunctiva. The discharges are haemorrhagic or purulent. The cornea becomes dry, hard and opaque and its perforation causes blindness particularly in children. Livingstone noted a deterioration in sight also in adults when for considerable time they had lived on manioca meal and coffee. If the diet is not improved death occurs from bronchopneumonia or some other infective condition. Recent study reports indicated also that nutritional treatment comprising mainly vitamins

and minerals ameliorates mental retardation in children. This allows us to assume that the reverse is most probably also the case.

With the threat of such consequences hanging over the people of the plain margin, it is imperative that something should be done at once to improve their diet and the level of nutrition. Once the people enjoy again a body-building and energy-restoring diet, they will be predisposed to new sustained enterprise and self-help.

Health

There can be no other single factor more important for the growth of the people and the development of the district than the population's health and physical condition. The proximity of the hospital in the provincial capital and the facilities of a clinic in Mukoko might on the surface augur well for the state of health of the villagers. This, however, tends to overlook the fact that the medical facilities serve a very wide area, indeed with regard to more serious illnesses and maladies, almost the entire province. Catering for such a wide area would, even with adequate supplies of medicines and equipment, stretch their capacity and effect to the outer limits. But this and current shortages are in many instances aggravated by the actual walking distance. This relative remoteness of the villagers from the health centre does not foster health education and prevention of sickness.

The 4 km walking distance to the hospital demanded considerable effort from the Livumbu who through intensive care had recovered from a coma and serious liver illness and had to walk regularly to the hospital for injections. Similarly the transport of older children, too weak to walk to the hospital for more expert medical advice, is an exhausting task for parents particularly mothers. The concept of medical care and health among the villagers is no more than an alleviation of severe pain, creeping illnesses which eventually cripple a person are frequently ignored. A little boy of approximately 10 years has for about seven years suffered from an apparently progressive paralysis of the left leg but as he continued hopping about like a walking triangle nothing was done to counteract or improve the diseased muscles. At the present stage frequent trips to attend the physiotherapist in hospital are even more daunting and without regular guidance and supervision there is little understanding in the home which might encourage the boy to exercise his limbs to save as much as possible. Every day that passes without special attention to his condition the boy grows into a more confirmed cripple. While the birth of a child is anticipated with great hope, joy and pride, pre- and post-natal care are unknown factors. Older women in the family or village act as midwife and I remember a newly-born infant whose sixth finger on either hand had been tied up so that it would die and fall off. Such and other handicaps are handled without any further medical advice or help

until perhaps it is too late to remedy the suffering. More is therefore needed to foster the health of the people. A resident medical community worker, rather than a nurse who attends a nearby clinic regularly for a couple of hours, would be desirable. Formal instruction, such as a medically qualified person could give, would be further outweighed by a surveillance of the health of the community and the consciousness of healthy living it would generate. Qualified resident medical staff would be in a position to observe closely and report on tra - ditional, social, environmental elements which apparently affect the health of the people.

During the period of this study, gross evidence of malnutrition was found only among the children of the Lozi fringe community and was probably also due to a high degree of retardation apparent in the mothers. That this in itself is the result of malnutrition during their childhood may be rejected as oversimplification and generalisation but it should not be altogether ignored. These children are not only illegitimate in every respect, in the conventional western sense and according to Lozi tra - dition, but not being claimed by their fathers they fall in the fringe community also outside the communal care and concern which the village as a whole accords to the children of the extended family. The young married women who nurse children and have the overall responsibility for the family's sustenance and maintenance are generally in an emaciated condition. This fact is hidden by their relative

youth, though they appear much older than they are in reality. Only the sight of a bare-breasted young woman made me, with a shock, aware and conscious of this.

The most prevalent condition of ill-health, particularly among small children, is a common cold and cough. It can hardly be called a serious illness but its debilitating effects are well known. I doubt if in our well-to-do western society we experience anything of the severity of this suffering as I have perceived it among the villagers. Adults among them have generally developed a certain immunity and stamina against it, which children, however, have not yet acquired. Medicine has not yet discovered the cause of a common cold but its very name may suggest an important factor in its occurrence. It is therefore not surprising that on cool nights small children wrapped in damp blankets cool out more rapidly than adults and are therefore more common victims particularly if poor nutrition has lowered their resistance.

Frequently, again particularly in children, conjunctivitis, inflammation of the eyes in a very severe form, accompanies the common cold. Among older people headaches and neuralgic pain in the eyes, ears and teeth is a great trial and visitors to the villages must notice the poor, sad state of teeth, which are far from being the mark of beauty we normally associate them with in people of the black race. Stiffness and rheumatic muscular pain is an almost universal complaint in middle-aged and older women. One of the oldest women in Namboma

appears to have walked, her body bent at an angle of 90° for many, many years. Also in the small community of Namboma four members have severe respiratory sufferings. Already a small girl was admitted to hospital in Mongu with severe respiratory disorders, a girl in her teens and a middle-aged woman are victims of asthma and an elderly retired man suffers from asthma and tuberculosis of the lungs. Similar observations of ailments of respiratory organs can be made in Nasitoko and staff of the hospital in Mongu confirmed the frequency of pneumonia among the people of the entire plain, particularly in the latter half of the rainy season.

The case of a young man in Nasitoko who is in his early thirties is a very sad one and reflects the suffering of many. He has been to school and speaks relatively good English. Then he has learnt as a builder but told me he had to quit because he was ill. There was, however, no definite, specific illness he could point to. He spends periods on and off by the river fishing. But very often he sits about the village with little enthusiasm and interest in anything. The severity of his suffering became clear to me when one day he returned from fishing wracked with pain, his legs covered up to the knee with purulent ulcers one on top of the other. He found little consolation in hospital. There were no tablets available, there was not even sunlight soap and powder to bathe and dress the wounds. Again many of the villagers

have small nodules under the skin on arms and legs. It looks as if they could be caused by a small parasite. Whatever it is, the people themselves ascribe it to the stagnation of the canal water in the wet season.

The state of health of the people as described might easily be related to vitamin deficiencies and their effects as described by Plimmer. Nothing in life, however, is as simple and straightforward. At least one other important factor affecting the health of the people is a damp cold, especially at the beginning of the rainy season. It is at this time that the above-mentioned symptoms are most severe which incapacitates many women when work in the fields is most pressing. Plimmer says that the pain of haemorrhages into the muscles caused by vitamin deficiency is very much like rheumatic pain. The stiffness and pain which particularly women suffer may nevertheless be some form of arthritis aggravated by a vitamin deficiency. The causes of arthritis are also as yet unknown. But we are told that 7½% of the world's population suffers from it. It seems to be an inflammation of the membranes covering the joints. As in developed Western countries rheumatism and arthritis have become something of a social curse and economic drain for which no cure has yet been found, fresh vegetable diet is said to be one very effective way of alleviating the pain and possibility of effecting a cure. The common aspirin is said to give remarkable alleviation in arthritic pain, which perhaps explains the fact that aspirin have become

the most important medical concept for the people in the villages.

Having grown up in a cold damp corner of southern Germany where rheumatic pain was a scourge before it acquired international fame, I will always remember the preventive measures elderly people drummed into children.

> 'Never, never sit on the ground particularly not in spring, no matter how bright the sun is shinimg and how warm the ground appears to be. The ground is moist, body warmth draws the moisture and the body itself supercools.'

Similar environmental conditions seem to prevail on the Zambezi plain especially in the rainy season when the hot sun draws water from a relatively shallow water table creating a clammy, humid atmosphere which penetrates everything particularly the blankets between which the people sleep. Besides this, body warmth acts like a minor sun drawing moisture from the saturated ground especially during the night when people are asleep and less aware of it. The most advocated folk medicine used in my home area to counteract every form of rheumatic pain, colds, coughs and toothache was, I remember, a hot footbath. It was also recommended as a preventive measure should one have been caught in a summer shower or have been subjected to prolonged walking in deep snow.

When, together with one of the villagers, I was caught in successive showers of rain which drenched us again as soon as the sun had dried the clothes on our bodies, I remembered this home remedy and both of us benefited from it, suffering no muscle pain whatever the

following day. Such preventive measures are, however, not at the disposal of the average villager who has neither dry firewood, nor a dry change of clothes, nor a warm, dry, comfortable shelter. The local people are aware of the fact that a high water level and dampness are a cause of suffering. They are conscious that only strong men can stand up to it. The Alui they say left the valley floor because they could not bear it, hence they have been named A-lui meaning small or weak people. Preventive measures call therefore, besides better nutrition, for more adequate shelters which offer better protection.

A common menace in the rainy season when mosquitoes breed in the stagnant water, is of course malaria. The people, however, tend to call everything malaria. There is probably some relief in putting a label to one's illness and claims of suffering from malaria find a more sympathetic hearing than complaints of unidentifiable pain and common ailments.

The most common complaint suffered by the villagers is known by the indigenous name 'nsila' meaning way or road. This name, I was told, was given to the illness because those who suffer it are restless and feel driven to and fro. Other symptoms include everything for which there is no physical diagnosis from headaches and nausea to allergies, phobias and depression. Someone said almost every second person in Nasitoko has had nsila in a relatively severe form. When recognised Western medicine

fails to help the people turn spontaneously to the herbalist, many of whom, more or less trustworthy, are found everywhere. Two of the men in the wider village neighbourhood are recognised as herbalists by the people, but many more practise on a smaller scale. Most of the people I consulted told me that nsila came with the Mbunda people who, as we know, being experts on witchcraft and divining, were brought in by king Mulambwa to protect him against his own people. But at least one of the villagers stated that the Lozi have always suffered from nsila because it is the result of doing or wishing evil which makes a person feel guilty. This clearly refers to the psychological emotional nature of the disorder and of course the Mbunda people with their magic practices intensified and compounded fear among the people.

The symptoms of nsila come very close to recognised symptoms of stress, which, as is commonly known, causes some chronic disabilities such as headache, depression, palpitation of the heart, indigestion and rheumatic pain. The association of rheumatic pain with stress symptoms could be more than coincidence and only more medical scientific research can reveal this. Dr Pauling in his theory of orthomolecular psychiatry, states that mental illness may result if the body does not fully utilise the vitamins and minerals found in food because of some genetic defect and that this may be compensated for by doses of vitamins and diet adjustments.

It does seem probable that the Lozi people through poor nutrition and other environmental factors suffer severe rheumatic pains and are more prone to psychosomatic illnesses triggered off by frustration, fear and disillusionment. Lingering superstition and witchcraft are responsible for inherent insecurity. Professor Warren shows in his research that the unemployed are two to four times as likely victims of psychosomatic illnesses. This may also be taken to apply to the male population of Lozi stock for whom there is little to aspire to in the old order and even less incentive under present-day conditions.

As Europeans and Americans despairing of orthodox medicine increasingly seek help from holistic and alternative medicine, so Lozi people turn to traditional cures. The feigned knowledge of shrewd men and women posing in the traditional role of a herbalist is a threat. Unless people are often healed by the sheer power of their own faith, having lost their money, they are frequently even more devastated and insecure when the power of the so-called medicine fails them. Steps should therefore be taken to encourage controlled practice of herbalists and traditional medicine.

In response to the need of the people two groups, types of African sectarian churches, have sprung up in the area. They are led by individuals who still play the role of herbalist or medicine man but who in some instances are also esteemed as a priest. Practices within the group appear to vary somewhat according to the charisma of the leader. In the Ndandauli Church group centred at Mukoko

a white flag, white dresses and beads have symbolic meaning. Drums and tins filled with small seed beans accompany the singing and dancing during the service, which rarely ends under four hours and during which difficulties and dreams are sung about and acted out. Members usually joined after they had been helped by some emotional release. They pledge themselves to non-violence and honesty. Unless they keep to it the healing power of the church and their communion with it ceases. The nsila community at Katoya has great faith in herbs and roots. Those who suffer are sent out in the forest to find them under what they believe to be the guidance of the spirit. They either smoke the plants and roots or allow them to ferment in water which is then considered to have a curative power. Bells accompany their dancing and singing. The Ndandauli Church meets regularly on Sunday and membership has effectively supplanted any former religious affiliation. In the nsila group which meets on Saturdays members may continue to worship in the various Christian communities.

It appears that these groups fill an emotional vacuum left by the changes in social, traditional, economic aspects and the lifestyle of the people. The practical remedies resorted to by the people could well be expanded and extended into more universal community functions and celebrations with relevance to the life of the people. As the liturgy of the Christian churches does not seem to meet the emotional need of so many, mass celebrations

commemorating national events away from the village base provide little solace for most of the people. An injection of joy and strengthened community bonds fostered by communal celebrations might well be one of the more effective counter-measures to the ever-increasing tendency of drinking among both men and women. Joyful and challenging communal activities are to be recommended even if economic improvements ease material and financial frustration because unless the positive side of the village community is strengthened its negative aspects become, through a lengthy period of slow change, more irksome for those who cannot escape and drinking would remain an escape valve. The words of Thoreau,

> 'The greater part of their energy is siphoned off by fears, anger, guilt feelings, hatred, loneliness and frustration. They have little zest and even less strength to join the dance of life or sing its songs',

can indeed be applied to the Lozi people. In an attempt to support them and strengthen the nation the need for attention to the social, emotional demands may be said to equal that of physical, medical care. Unless speedy help and remedies are forthcoming, the life and vitality of the entire valley may be at risk.

Lozi or Zambia

Education

Education, first and foremost, must be a guide to living. In most cultures today, however, there is a

dichotomy in this process of personal growth and development which roughly may be categorised as practical training and formal schooling. The former which is to fit the child to live to the best advantage in the environment, community and tradition into which it is born, starts with a programme of training almost before the child is born and lasts throughout life, though special occasions and events in a person's life indicate that he should have mastered appropriate essentials of a lifespan. Formal schooling becomes more and more necessary not only for those who may choose to follow a commercial, technical, or academic career, but all those who hope to enjoy a full, successful life wherever and in whatever manner it may be. The family and local community facilitate adaptation to the confined world, formal schooling imparts the skills and know-how for wider integration.

Despite the rapid changes in the political, social and economic system of the villages concerned, parents and elders teach what they themselves have accumulated in experience and children imitate their elders in play and the reality of everyday life. Under the quickly changing circumstances the children may not be able to apply fully what tradition teaches them, but it does give them the security of belonging to an identifiable group of people which is all important for the adaptation and development of the younger generation in the world at large.

From an early age children accompanying their mothers wherever they go become familiar with the soil and water that constitute the traditionally valued assets. In the garden toddlers play with fieldmice and insects, learn of things that are useful and troublesome. They pick up the hoe and copy their elders. Little girls, who themselves are still being carried on their mother's back, are shown how to fasten a bundle in similar fashion. They themselves hardly emerge from the toddler stage when for longer or shorter intervals they are entrusted with the supervision and care of the youngest whom they pull about and carry with amazing motherly instinct and security. Clay models of cattle and paddocks outlined in the sand convey to little boys the desirable things in life. Once the children reach school age they have learnt to use their hands and developed skills. Boys construct bows and arrows, fishing baskets and traps, and they spend much of their time in serious play during which they experiment with the various methods of fishing. Girls sit with grannies, mothers, aunts and sisters and learn how to make brooms and mats. They apply themselves in household tasks such as keeping the yard clean and stoking the fire. As children come more into contact with life outside the village their keen observation is apparent in the bicycles, carts and cars made from odd scraps and pieces of wire. On quiet afternoons the wealth of the children's learning is expressed and co-ordinated in role play during which village life is enacted and which at times involves all

the children in the neighbourhood.

Grandparents play a very important role in the traditional education of children. Several of the old men referred to the times and instances when accompanying their elders they were taught or came to understand certain aspects of their history and tradition. The old people in the village gave me to understand that a child who asks many questions is a promising child. The relationship between young and old is also traditionally important because by it children learn to respect and revere members of the family whom they have to support during their old age. The three young children of one family who had temporarily settled in Nasitoko walked regularly every school-free weekend out to the plain to stay with their paternal grandfather. During the school holidays they made the day-long trip across the plain to spend their vacation in the village of their paternal grandmother. Usually it is the paternal grandparents that are important, but in many instances, especially if children are illegitimate and not claimed by their father, maternal grandparents seem to take over. Several of the older women in Nasitoko and Namboma have periodically one of their grandchildren staying with them, sometimes for all of the school term.

For children in their teens difficulties beset this process of assimilation and adaptation. With the boys the problems appear to vary from village to village, depending on the traditional concepts of the people.

Teenage boys in Nanyando belong all to one family. The father, who himself has spent most of his life far afield as a labour migrant, fostered in his sons an attitude to look outside the village for their adult life. But, as he told me, he maintains the land just in case one of his sons would not turn out as he would like him to. In Namboma with its tradition of giving service, men appear to have taken readily to crafts during a time when building and construction work in the nearby establishment provided opportunities for learning. Today the men follow their work in the nearby town. The boys therefore do not have the opportunity to observe their fathers at work, nor are there, once they leave school, any apprenticeships open to them. Nasitoko, a village of great tradition in the service of the king and his people, seems to have even less to aspire to. There are no nearby, outside occupations which might serve as substitute for the honorary task of hunting, fishing and warring with the king's men. Only one of the sons of the family can hope that eventually he may be elected to succeed his father in the indunaship, which however is in itself not enough to support a family. None of the men in the village can be said to hold a satisfactory, rewarding job, their life appears to be shifty, ruled by moods and impulses. There is little to challenge teenage boys or to inspire them to identify with it. In an almost unavoidable natural process they grow into a habit of inactivity and drifting.

For girls the process of assimilation continues a little longer, particularly if they belong to a more closely knit group. The example of single, independent women in the community must, however, outweigh that of women committed to a family. A woman commands respect and recognition once she has borne a child and not necessarily by being married to a man, influential and powerful though he may be. It is likely therefore that subconscious absorption of this has a greater influence upon girls than the formulated traditional concept that Lozi men want virgin brides so as to be more sure of their loyalty after marriage. The girls appear to react all the more strongly to the somewhat longer process of assimilation of role-playing and traditional education by apparently refusing to enter independently with responsibility into traditional life and marriage. With no other alternative they appear to choose unmarried motherhood and a semi-independent life in their father's village.

Village elders are very much aware that traditional learning no longer adequately equips their children for rapidly changing conditions. They hope and believe that formal schooling will supplement what they cannot give. This explains their great anxiety and concern to see their children and grandchildren successful in their school career.

Primary education in the school, little more than 5 minutes' walk up the slope, starts at the age of

seven. To accommodate on an average four streams per class for seven different grades and well over forty children per stream, teaching follows a morning and afternoon rota system. Well-nourished children might be able to cope with the heat of the afternoon which makes concentration difficult. Higher classes for Grade VII examination are relegated to the morning. But even better power of concentration in the cooler mornings will not make up for what children, battling against heat and fatigue, could not absorb in younger years. The absence of books in the home, the lack of facilities to keep school books, the absence of any amenities which might assist preparation or school work at home, the inability of parents to supervise their children's progress, all limit the acquisition of formal learning to a few short hours in badly equipped, overcrowded classrooms. Children not attending school repeatedly explained to me that they could not do so because they had no pencil.

Of the few hours at school valuable time is spent cutting grass, collecting poles, digging gardens, fetching water and erecting fences under the pretext of craft work. It is important not to underrate manual, practical work during the years of schooling, but activities carried out within the limited time allocated for teaching should have instructive value. It appears, however, that much of what the children do with regard to practical work has been learnt the traditional way and it is simply being done as a matter of convenience.

Formal teaching is important not only to help the academically gifted child to emerge and to proceed with higher education - which cannot happen under given conditions - but it must give all children a good grounding in what used to be called the three Rs. English in particular, having acquired the status of the official language throughout the country, should be mastered by all those who pass through primary schooling. Repeatedly people said that they were at a disadvantage when they called at any office if they could not express themselves in English. But, I also found that older members of the community had a better grasp of the language, though they did not profess to speak it, than teenagers who had left school recently. An old man of eighty surprised me giving an explanation and commentary of a conversation I had in English with his nephew. Most men and women, moreover, speak the tongue of the Mbunda as well as Silozi. Middle-aged women too show greater expertise in practical work. If they can obtain material, they are capable of sewing and knitting of which the younger generation is ignorant. In short it may be detected that the brief years of schooling in the past were far more effective than anything that is being done today. It would appear advisable to formulate a teaching plan for precise teaching within a limited period of time per day and to balance this with an equally important period of practical teaching in crafts, conservation, cultivation and land use in general. Experts should be engaged to give instruction

in these fields. Basic knowledge obtained during primary schooling should be extended into extra-curricular and adult education. Above all, education along these lines must be based on the reality of the countryside to illustrate to the people that what they are being shown can actually be put into practice on their own land.

Despite regulations that context subjects are to be taught in English the children lack the command of the language to comprehend and express themselves during examinations at the end of their primary school career. The pass rate of four pupils out of over 180 as was the case at the end of the 1979 academic year is a great concern for parents and has a very demoralising effect upon the children. Parents try to ensure a final pass by securing a possibility for their children to repeat anywhere along the line to assure that the work is becoming more familiar to them. One of the boys who was due to pass into grade V actually returned to grade III because the oncoming grade IV was already too large to accommodate him. Parents, moreover, maintain that no child will ever pass grade VII the first time round. A lad who in November 1979 completed grade VII at more than 21 years of age failed again despite the fact that he had repeated many times. Something ought to be done at once to allow for graded passes which select those capable of going on for further academic study and to provide technical education, trade schools and agricultural colleges for the great number of youngsters who at present start life completely

frustrated with nothing to aim for. Primary schooling as it exists in the area today produces nothing but generations of loafers and disillusioned people.

In 1979/80 only six of all the children in the three villages had reached secondary school level and were away at boarding school. Boarding schools, no doubt, offer better facilities and routine for learning, but adaptation of the youngsters who have not developed study habits, is difficult. The contrast between the life they knew and the circumstances they find themselves in at school is overwhelming and trying. Consequently they are not likely to cope as well as they might with the next hurdle Form III examinations. One of the parents from Nasitoko spent anxious weeks at the end of 1978 trying to find a school with lower intake marks which might accept his 20 year-old son who had failed to pass into Form III. He actually succeeded and was very happy to think that his son was given another opportunity of useful occupation instead of joining the dispirited group of males in the village.

From all the above, it is clear that the villages, as the entire neighbourhood, have very little direct benefit from the nearby educational establishments. These establishments, however, offer accommodation for evening adult education. Adult education is something of a misnomer, as the courses offered are largely watered down academic courses leading to Form III examinations. They

attract mainly young men who have failed to obtain a pass in formal schooling. In 1978/79 besides the boys from the villages, three came from further away and stayed in Nasitoko with relatives and friends to attend evening classes. The young men drew heavily on family support for pocket money and keep and do very little during the day. There is no change or improvement in their study habits, which generally had caused their failure. According to teachers marking examination scripts, there is more retrogression than progress in the work of evening school candidates. Year after year hopes of parents and pupils are dashed, and nothing more awaits those who actually make the grade a step further.

Adult education too should be a dichotomous system, primarily geared towards the needs of the area, with emphasis on the development of the natural resources and potential of the area. Academic teaching should help to propagate the knowledge required by any farmer and businessman or woman. The one great exception in the structure of adult education and strictly speaking outside of it, are courses conducted under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Development. They are conducted in the neighbouring mission establishment and offer girls an opportunity to acquire a knowledge in sewing and secretarial work including typing. Two of the village girls supplement the family income considerably by attending the sewing course. Unfortunately few of the girls in the

villages had, at the time I was there, the necessary elementary standard of education to participate in the course of office practice. Students who complete this course find ready employment. Adult education courses in housecraft, cultivation, marketing and other aspects should follow more or less the same line of instruction and learning by doing and experimenting.

Living among the people in the village, I have seen repeatedly that the common statement the young generation is not prepared to work on the land is certainly a half-truth. There is no practical encouragement for them to do so. In my experience boys in their teens happily dug the land in preparation for growing vegetables. No efforts are being made, however, to guide keen, eager and willing youngsters to understand and utilise the indigenous resources. Agricultural development officers from nearby Mongu might, however, point out that Malengwa area as it is known, has a very active Young Farmers' Club which annually exhibits successfully at the local and national Agricultural Show. In reality, the exhibitors belong to a Women's Club. They obviously found that entering in the section of Young Farmers they were more competitive. Unfortunately support and direction for the Women's Club is also inadequate, thus it is also ineffective as an instrument of adult education.

It can only be hoped that national reorganisation of education will bring about less centralisation in policy

making and greater concentration on the human and material resource potential of the area.

Attitudes and Traits

In all my dealings with the older section of the population in the villages and to a large extent also in my contact with the young, I was struck by their very strong sense of self-appreciation, pride and dignity. This attitude was reflected in their bearing, no matter how great their suffering might have been. It is difficult to cite instances and examples which illustrate a quality that is an ever-pervading presence in the village, which accompanies everyone of the activities, actions and reactions of the villagers. In all the months I spent among the villagers never one of them assumed an attitude of inferiority or submissiveness. All they acceded to was a recognition of the differences that were apparent between us, a tolerance towards me for not knowing better, and a readiness to teach me. Needless to say, I was all the time watched and observed, and my honesty and trustworthiness were constantly weighed up.

The life of the village people is still ruled by the fear of witchcraft and superstition. In primitive society witchcraft and the accusations of witchcraft are a means of self-protection and self-preservation for the individual as well as society. Lack of scientific

knowledge prevented primitive man from understanding natural phenomena, but seems to have enhanced in him an intuitive cognisance of the curative and poisonous effects of plants and herbs. Men exposed to and dependent on the elements of nature for their very existence have greater sensitivity and a clearer concept of a superior force and power, a certainty which is difficult to define. The faith knowledge of this ultimate power and man's corroboration with it or resistance to it in a misunderstood self-interest consolidated by the natural phenomena and supported by insights in nature is at the heart of the struggle for good and evil which have regulated the simple village life.

The conviction that Lozi kingship is an extension of divine power and authority is practically unshaken in all the villagers, young and old. The royal family are direct descendants from God. Their power is guarded by magic and charms. When Nolela gave away the basket which held Mange's magical powers, and when she, who was the only female descendant of her great mother with all the magical knowledge, returned to her brother, her son Mange lost confidence and control over his people and the Lozi kingdom could be consolidated. Teachings and deductions from this oral tradition of Lozi evolution are to this day, it seems, fundamental to village life. Through contact with the world at large some have, of course, modified what has been passed on. One of the men actually

explained to me that Mboo was no more than an ordinary woman who, having been married to a man in another part of the country, had learnt how people could be organised, co-ordinated and ruled, and who, because of her gift of organisation, was popularly chosen to integrate the loosely scattered people in the upper Zambezi plain. However the man derived his insight, he would not be safe if he made it publicly known, thus the idea of divine origin of the traditional rulers remains strong.

The belief, that the litunga as the representative of God is doing good to his people, is so strong that many weaknesses in the ruler tend to be overlooked. Nevertheless, even though it was not voiced openly, the king has always been on constant trial in his function. When his actions were no longer seen to be in accord with his position, which more often than not was a recognition fuelled by rivalry, it was acceptable and right to depose the king. History repeatedly gives evidence of the magical persecution of the Lozi ruler.

The same belief formulated a moral code among the common people according to which members of a family lived together and shared what they had, allowing everyone what he had need of, but looking suspiciously at anyone who showed signs of greed. Anyone who infringed the rule of common living, even unintentionally by having a better catch of fish, or growing better crops, was a threat to the existence and life of the others. There

was always the danger that to achieve total control he might make use of magical powers to satisfy his greed and thus he cannot be trusted. Expressing themselves in English the people speaking of someone who misappropriated money or goods literally say,

'He has eaten it up.'

Anyone who materially fares better than the rest of the community is therefore accused of being a witch and by this is isolated from the rest of the community. Social isolation is hard to bear and was probably much harder to accept in primitive society in which communal living provided comfort as well as security. Thus an individual to be able to remain within the community had to toe the line and live by the traditional moral code. Visitors and passersby too run the risk of accusation should any mishap follow their passage. This fearful belief is still very strong among the village people and has led to a pronounced development of certain characteristics among them.

There is almost a stifling privacy in the villages and people, unless they have a very definite purpose, enter a village with great reservation and restraint. If it is not necessary they will avoid entering into it. Repeatedly I was told by those who accompanied me,

'this is not our road (footpath), we must not follow it'.

For this reason every village has its own footpath leading to it from the main road and also its own waterhole. If entering the village cannot be avoided the reason for

doing so is proclaimed clearly and without delay either by seeking out the person one has come to see or by informing those in the village who apparently with some authority ill-conceal their disapproval of the intruder. On first visits to villages in the plain, during which friends accompanied me, I was repeatedly instructed to be observant of the members in the village who first welcomed me, and offered me a chair to sit down, as these were my friends. Within the circle of the extended family in the village people quickly sense those individuals who want to be better off than others. These people one must guard against. The all-pervading mistrust is summed up in an old Si-Lozi proverb which says:

Mio-ma-nene ni uku-monena Big eyes are for-to-see.
Interpreted: Better see for yourself than learn from hearsay.

In the event of birth, illness, misfortune or death it is important to convey one's sympathy and feelings by visiting the family concerned and sharing their concern to free oneself of any suspicion of ill-feeling towards them. Such prevailing attitudes make it obviously difficult to stay in the village and live a life markedly different from that of the others. This is not a recent development. Secretly guarding the full extent of one's success and good fortune in life, imparting to others only as much as one judges necessary of one's actions, decisions and good luck, a penetrating alertness to and shrewd assessment of what is going on around one, seem to have always been the very

essence of life in Lozi society. Life in traditional society therefore is a training in diplomacy as well as observation and alertness. The lesson is learnt very early on in life.

Accommodation to the traditional moral code is restricting. Village members with more formal schooling, strong ambition and outside job opportunities are the first who try to break out of this social control. But if, as in Namboma, all heads of younger families have similar work, there is a strong possibility of continuing life together in the village on a uniformly slightly higher level. Though, again, as in the case of Namboma, progress is not necessarily the same thing for all. Mr Sakanungu indeed, has two wives so that his gardens are being worked and the home is maintained in two places, for some of the other villagers the prestige of having the money to keep two wives is more significant.

In day-to-day living the hiding of goods and borrowing by those who have detected them causes frequent and sometimes severe friction. A prolonged family disagreement started on account of a treasured, well-concealed piece of toilet soap, which when detected was borrowed without a remnant of it being returned. Buying larger quantities of goods such as cooking oil is little safeguard against shortages as everyone in the village will come to borrow some. The lucky owner may protect himself somewhat by making it clear from the start that he was in business and prepared to sell it in small quantities.

But even then many would buy on never-to-be-paid credit. A young man in Nasitoko who for some time retailed maize meal pinned a huge notice to the wall of his house saying:

> 'We cannot borrow and remain friends, but I want to remain friends so do not ask me to give credit.'

This resistance to unequal sharing keeps many villagers from intensifying their production on the land in isolation. It has also frustrated attempts of starting retailing on a more permanent and organised basis. 'They had to close because they had no more money' was the oft-repeated explanation for the closing down of village groceries. It was also given as a reason by the Sakanungu who for some time had maintained a store in Namboma.

For those who leave the village, it is important to maintain links with the villagers. Unless they continue to convey their solidarity with the members of the village through visits and gifts they come increasingly under suspicion, and emigrating from the village is no guarantee of shaking off all belief and fear of witchcraft. Even without major complications, it is very difficult to adapt successfully to life elsewhere. If in that case emigrants have severed all village ties ensuing insecurity and anxiety are often interpreted as witchcraft for which, as everyone knows also, distance is no protection. This attitude towards relationships as a form of insurance is also apparent in members who stay only temporarily in the

villages. They maintain a very conscious and obvious relationship with their paternal village in other parts of the valley. Because of this maintained relationship the tendency to return to the village for retirement also seems to be stronger. In 1979 two men and their wives came back to the villages to retire. For those remaining in the village it is equally important to provide always and at all times welcome hospitality for those who return. Pressure of time, urgent work in the gardens, prior arrangements, all can be postponed in order to await a visitor who has been announced or to receive one that has turned up unexpectedly.

An important security system in Lozi society appears to have been investment in social relationships. Tribute formerly paid to the king is always referred to as 'gift'. In the course of the year I spent among the people I received 5 large bunches of bananas, 3 chickens, eggs, various types of fruit, vegetables and milk as presents from the people, some of whom I visited for the first time. Friends urged me to accept these gifts in recognition of the villagers' expression of their friendship and good will. To refuse it was to refuse their friendship. Such insurance policies can obviously only be taken out in cases where returns are anticipated. Material returns, may however be slow and delayed and today immediate financial returns might be more in the interest of the donor. But even if gifts are not at once reciprocated they create an atmosphere of interdependence

and relationships which give life added security. The reactions of the villagers clearly showed that they considered the main road, which was being built at the time, between Mongu and Limulunga as well as a seven storey building, which in the environment of Mongu must be something of a white elephant, as gifts of recognition from Central Government to the Lozi people. Because of this attitude people have felt particularly slighted in the past when there was little evidence of progress and few opportunities were being offered to the people to take advantage of.

The expression of mutual appreciation through gifts is probably the root of reticence of the villagers when it comes to asking for something which might appear like begging. Conversely even the most destitute of villagers received anything he was given graciously and gratefully as a sign of appreciation never as an alms. They will, if they want something, diplomatically make their request known and leave the person concerned to recognise it and decide about it. If there is no response there is no mutual friendship, no relationship or co-operation will grow. This attitude came again and again to the fore. Two examples will perhaps illustrate it. Through access to second-hand clothing I was fortunately able to reciprocate their gifts. An old man who very much wanted a cardigan for his wife informed me that the one she had was stolen. Another day I had made

arrangements with a young man, who knew I still had some cakes of soap, to accompany me to the Agricultural Show. Late in the evening he turned up to inform me that he could not go because he had no clean clothes and no soap for washing. If, on the other hand, villagers felt compelled to ask for something, they made it clear that they did so on a business basis. Business transactions have to be honoured at all costs. Before my relatively sudden departure many villagers were anxious to pay the little money they might have owed me. But villagers are also constantly on the alert to make a bargain, to use any occasion or person that inadvertantly or willingly offers itself to be used. This is part of the natural environment which for generations the people have learnt to use to their best advantage. Someone who has lived in Lozi society for considerable time remarked that the most grievous sin for any Lozi is not to use someone who allows himself to be used.

Their business deals are equally shrewd. House builders have to wait for the last instalment of their money until a rainy season has passed to ensure they do satisfactory work. A number of fishing nets stolen from one of the villagers and hawked at a reduced price were retrieved by another who hawking the remaining nets at a somewhat higher cost traced many of the buyers of stolen goods. Having been identified all of them preferred to return the stolen goods rather than to be reported to the police for what they knew to have been an illegal act.

The independent character of women is prominent throughout, but particularly so in those who have opted for the single life. It is mainly single women who go in for retailing of single items and the selling of beer. One of the single women in Nasitoko breeds and raises pigs. When she thought the time had come to sell one of them she made without consulting anyone arrangements for a land rover to fetch the pig which she decided to kill and sell in the township hoping that money would be more plentiful there. Unfortunately her calculations did not work out. Nearly two days later having sold nothing but on credit she called upon me for help to dispose of the meat. Also married women live, though less obstrusively, their own life, particularly so if they have children of a previous marriage to care for. Because of their independent, dominating character and very little opportunity for an outlet, the rate of frustration among women is also high. Drinking among women is therefore no less a problem than among men. Grace, for example, though we had more or less settled the question of the meat, returned to the village and rid herself of her disappointment by excessive drinking. Miriam, an old retired woman now, was many years ago taken into employment on the nearby mission. She at first resisted and resented the advice to save some of her money, most of which flowed into drink. But as her savings grew and she was able to build a respectable house for herself she

became rehabilitated and no longer drinks. The secret in her own words,

> 'Everyone respects me because I have a nice house.'

There appears to be a strange duality in the villagers, a strong trait of consumerism and an equally powerful drive to hoard. The most frequently repeated complaint of the people was not that they had no money but that there were no goods for buying. Whatever goods are found in Mongu are not only well beyond what the rural people can pay, but also in shopping areas not normally frequented by the average villager. Shortages of goods result not only from current shortages which 600 km from the railway distribution centres are aggravated, but in the mind of the people they are related to the closed, dilapidated trading stores of the Zambezi Trading Company. Consumerism includes a great deal of buying on impulse, nevertheless articles that have acquired status symbol such as bedsteads, umbrellas and chamber pots, are under local conditions very serviceable considering the climate and weather. Umbrellas protect against the sun, which easily calls forth neuralgic pain, as well as against the rain. As people wear more clothing protection against the rain is more important. Sleeping in bedsteads insulates against the wet, cold, waterlogged ground. As weather conditions make it more frequently necessary to get up during the night, it is certainly more convenient not to have to go out in the dark when snakes pose a

threat. The significance of items which might appear to be mere status symbols is therefore obvious. This generally speaks for sense of value and usefulness in any purchase.

Clothing, perhaps, shows most clearly the strong trend to consumerism; it also reveals the tendency of hoarding. The oldest of the men in Nasitoko has at least 5 suitcases with goods piled up in his house. In the course of the year I counted six perfectly good suits which he wore in turn for special occasions. Similarly the oldest woman in the ancilliary village, sitting in no more than a loin cloth irrespective of the weather, has two large cases of clothing to which she added the gifts I gave her without ever wearing any of it once to indicate in Lozi fashion her appreciation of it. The nets mentioned earlier on were taken from a woman's store of sixty which she hid away in a locked suitcase. The tendency of hoarding had also been transferred to money. Many of the villagers have post office savings accounts or are members of the local credit union. Some even have both. But how many still hoard their money somewhere in their house or on their land cannot be known. Outsiders acquainted with the villagers assured me that many of them lost a small fortune when some time after independence the money they had buried and failed to exchange lost its value.

According to the traditional Lozi attitude, 'seeing is believing', the villagers are very slow to take advice. Again and again I was aware of their quiet,

non-committal listening to any suggestion only to go away and do what they themselves knew was best. One of the villagers questioned about his reaction and reluctance to argue the point gave the classic answer,

> 'It is my principle never to argue with a fool.'

This sums up an outstanding trait of all the villagers. Everything and everyone is taken at no more than face value until claims are seen to be proven. To recognise and admit the correctness of any statement, or more frequently to imitate something which has proved to be successful, seems equally typical in Lozi society. Once, weeks later, when results proved a point in question discussed with my friend, he paid me all smiling the compliment, saying:

> 'So I see you were right.'

Conviction by self-evident truth, it seems, can persuade a Lozi to do anything. It can motivate a proud Lozi to work in the fields. One of the villagers of Lui origin regularly works the gardens with his family, because he said,

> 'I saw when I was away how people worked to make money and I can do the same.'

Like conviction by self-evident truth, determination to obtain whatever is desirable activates motivation and overcomes almost all, even the strongest fears, supersititions and traditions, if it is at all possible to integrate it into the life and harmony of the ongoing development in the village. When Namboma village

shifted from the plain margin to the foot of the slope land was scarce. Most of the villagers, except for the rightful successor to the village headship, settled on what formerly was a burial ground. Today the oldest villager is proud of the fact that he had led his family in the move and the conquest of fear it entailed. Removed from the rest of the village, succession to the headship and the rightful use of title lands were called into question. To retain his claims the separated village member overcame his fears and superstition and set up home with the rest of the community at Namboma. Success of neighbours is no longer seen as the result of witchcraft only, a considerable degree of objective assessment enters into it, provided those who come into good fortune continue to relate well to the rest of the community. The rumour that a member of a neighbouring village had grown and sold enough tomatoes to buy a cow spurred on many to a greater interest in market gardening.

The constant search and drive to find the best ways and means to make profit and achieve results tends to be a drawback for many. Enterprising men are swayed in their undertakings and often change into new more promising activities before the task on hand had sufficient time to yield results. Insistence on finding employment outside the village jeopardises men's sustained interest in the development of the land's resources.

If any project to assist the villagers to better their own situation is to succeed and generate growth

the characteristics of the people cannot be ignored. They must be enlisted to provide the driving force. Therefore plans for development cannot be imposed on the people. Successful projects must be demonstrated and provisions for the villagers to enter into them and to take them up must be planned. Any scheme to prosper should draw upon the pool of female labour potential, and emphasis should be on community rather than co-operative development. It should not prove too difficult to exploit the innate consumerism tendency to popularise improvements in housing and living. In order to do so the most desirable objectives and ways mut be examined and experimented with to ensure their satisfaction and success before the local people will be convinced by them and adopt them. This does not mean that there will not be some individuals who are more hard-working, enterprising and progressive and who therefore will set the pace. Their progress will also depend on their diplomacy and skill to remain friendly and at peace with the rest of the community. If such progress appears to be slow, it is real progress which does not give material advantages only but simultaneously fosters human relationships which sooner or later must take over from fear and superstition.

Division of Labour

As in most African cultures, village life has

been characterised by a pronounced division of labour. Conditions today evolved from traditional practices show besides the failures, also a remarkably high degree of adaptation.

The older men in Nasitoko have an aristocratic air about them. It is most becoming to the old generation who naturally hold a position of authority. Among the middle-aged men with responsibility for a growing family and the young, all of whom are still caught up in the myth of traditional greatness and want to hold prestigious jobs outside the village rather than apply themselves to work the land, the attitude had a devastating effect. The exceptions to this are equally striking. The only two men who in the village have taken an active part in working the land are descendants of traditional rulers. The same two men own most of the cattle in the villages, but only the older who has retired from migratory work takes personal charge of the animals when they come to the plain margin during the flood season. The other is fully employed as a master builder and spends his off-time pursuing agricultural interests. Two of the younger men have seriously taken to fishing and two more are employed in the building trade in Mongu. One middle-aged man having married a woman with considerable inheritance and who chose to stay in the village accepted at the same time as it were a subservient position to his wife with the responsibility of care and maintenance of family and

gardens. Men who married women in Nanyando accepted a similar status. One of the younger men in the ancilliary village fell during his period of unemployment without hesitation into the task of caring for the small children while the wife cultivated the gardens on the plain. During the relatively short history of Namboma in the traditional setting men were busy procuring goods for the palace from the various parts of the plateau and today's male population appears to have made a good transition from this to the commercial service industry. Most of themwork in the building trade in Mongu, one is self-employed cycling through the plain mending pots and pans, and another holds a clerical job in the nearby primary school.

Though some villagers assured me that in the past everybody, both men and women, helped to cultivate the king's gardens, it was the rule most probably for Lozi commoners and slaves. Even today few people dare to admit such social divisions. As slavery became illegal and feudalism weakened the freed male population seems to have emulated the rulers by delegating all work on the land to women. Generally, therefore, cultivation is today still almost exclusively the realm of women.

Cultivation is a seasonal occupation. As a result of the variety of gardens, however, it demands attention for more than half of the year. Once the crops are harvested taking the grain off the cob, cleaning

and pounding it in preparation for cooking is also women's work. Some families consume greater quantities of cassava than others and the retting, drying and pounding of this crop replaces the preparation of the grains. Cutting grass for roofing and fencing, fetching clay and plastering houses is another seasonal task for women. Availability of the products is controlled by the seasons, therefore the work falls rhythmically into a time when cultivation is less pressing.

Overall there has been very little change from traditional methods of cultivation and lifestyle. The rhythm of life is still regulated by the climate and weather changes. This limits the amount anyone can do at a particularly auspicious moment and renders activity at less propitious times useless. Village life retains therefore its traditional, contemplative lifestyle which elsewhere scientific method and technology have destroyed. As home-grown grains become an ever decreasing proportion of the staple food requirement bought maize meal simplifies women's work considerably. Despite the chores of carrying water, cooking, washing and keeping the yard clean they have a great deal more free time. Older women occupy themselves during some of the newly acquired leisure time either with some traditional crafts, making mats, brooms, snuff, or more often sewing, knitting, crocheting if materials are available. One woman unpicks sacks woven of plastic threads to crochet handbags which she

offers for sale or gives as presents. Women in their twenties do not seem to have the necessary skill to employ themselves gainfully in the time they have on their hands. Changes which superficially appear to improve the lot of women in reality seem to foster frustrated inactivity.

Despite formal schooling children, boys and girls, take their share in the daily chores and seasonal activities. Cutting grass, carrying water, collecting firewood, sweeping the yard, cooking and washing the dishes are frequently alotted to children. Such tasks carried out under the surveillance of the head of the family are good training, but children staying with relatives, or children by divorced wives are at risk of being exploited. Children of single women particularly once they have entered their teens are often, and for prolonged times, left to their own devices with nothing useful or interesting to occupy them.

Though there has been little time and opportunity for the villagers to adjust to changes in labour demand there is evidence that tradition and attitudes encourage adaptation. For this to come about there must, however, be opportunities available which could only be found for a relatively short time when labour was recruited for nearby building activities. Similar or other opportunities do not exist today. Nor has there ever been much challenge for those whose main interest is closely linked to land and water or for the large female labour potential. There

clearly is a danger that the young people of the villages, both men and women, lose touch with tradition which prompted them to master situations and turn them to their own advantage and that they are increasingly caught up in frustrated, disillusioned inactivity which will turn the entire area into a rural slum.

Mobility

Village life shows an amazing degree of mobility. On many occasions any of the villages may be found completely deserted. Though visits to nearby Mongu and Limulunga are quite common, especially to attend to business, hospital, court, etc., most of the movement is out to the plain and to other villages along the plain margin. Clearly this mobility is closely related to social structure.

Children of a relatively young age move between the villages of their paternal grandfather and grandmother. Frequently as they get older their parents are likely to have separated again and teenagers while consolidating their position in their father's village spend considerable periods of time in their mother's home. In Nasitoko and Namboma children from plain villages stay with relatives while attending the primary school nearby. In the ordinary day-to-day living most children accompany their elders visiting the plain villages. They also go in groups independent of adult supervision considerable

distances to fish and play.

Among the adult population news of illness or death of a relative frequently calls for a trip sometimes to the remotest corner of the plain. Most of the journeys crossing the plain are made on foot. Going north or south part of the distance is made by canoe. With more than a day's journey behind them the visitors are expected and welcome to stay for a few days at least. Nothing will prevent any of the villagers if misfortune has befallen a close relative from making his way there. Emilia, at the news that her daughter in boarding school a considerable distance across the valley, was ill with meningitis, set off in the middle of the harvest season leaving her husband and his daughter by another wife to take care of what had to be done. Two villagers in Nasitoko, however, postponed a condolence visit to more distant relatives across the valley until the cassava had been lifted from the land over which the flood level began to rise. Another time one of the villagers, called upon to visit his father, explained that it was expected of him to do so as he was out of work. Those in regular, firm employment are excused more readily. One of the older women left the village after she had planted her land in December to pay a social visit to her son in one of the railway towns. She did not return until May when it was said her son offered her the return fare. The three half sisters in the ancilliary village of Nasitoko are frequently absent for long periods. Being thrown

together in their father's village with no family of their own to fall back on, but anxious to guard their father's heritage for their children, they escape often and for prolonged spells to their maternal villages. Margaret appears to have delegated keeping the fort to her elder daughter. She herself spent most of 1979 in Lyondo and only made the village her base when she came to Mongu. Other weighty factors prompting her long absenteeism were difficult to establish.

The mobility of men is, if anything, still stronger. For those who work in town daily trips to and from work not only obliterate the gregarious nature, but the rhythmic movement appears to be something of an integral part of life. Two of the men in Namboma have, however, acquired a bicycle to reduce the length of time on the road and thus to be able to attend to matters of interest and urgency at home. Those engaged in fishing spend the entire fishing season between April and November by the river returning only occasionally for very short spells. Cattle owners go at least once a month if not more often to see their animals and to assure themselves of their safety. Old men with the necessary leisure and the wisdom of their years are frequently about, walking considerable distances, paying social visits during which they glean for themselves that which might not be passed on by word of mouth. Unfortunately the young men enrolled for evening school with little notion of systematic application to book learning follow the same propensity.

The mobility of the Lozi is often considered detrimental to steady regular employment in which absenteeism causes disruption. Repeatedly, however, it can be seen that for villagers and those who still have close ties with the village absenteeism is a matter of priority depending on the predominant factors of security in their life. As long as the family structure is the only reliable security it has to be maintained at all costs. As soon as financial support and security arise not only for the individual but benefits spread to the family at large even the most traditional members accommodate themselves to the necessary arrangements.

With scope of development and progress tending more towards peasant family enterprises in which tasks can be accomplished at convenient times by any member of the family, mobility is even less of a drawback. Development in villages which eventually will have to be integrated into advancement of the entire plain and which to succeed has to convince a people who will only be guided by their own judgement and opinion can only gain by mobility. Any project or scheme initiated successfully in any part of the plain will forecast its possibilities and advantages to the remotest corners of it. There will be little need of persuasion after that. The contrary is, however, also true. With disillusionment and foundered hopes rising, mistrust and resistance to change are likely to harden throughout the valley.

The Mbunda People

All that has been said so far concentrated on the permanent indigenous community. Despite considerable curtailment of rights and claims much of what was said generally holds good for the Mbunda people as well. The three extended family groups settled on the slope above the village of Nasitoko (Fig. 7) have entered Zambia from Angola around independence. The younger members have attended school in Zambia and acquired a satisfactory command of English. To my enquiries about their tribal origins, one of the younger members told me that they were 'Lozinised Mbunda'. The older generation speaks only Mbunda. These people have no permanent land rights and are situated in a very vulnerable environmental location which eventually will necessitate their movement again. Because of this they may not have a long-term influence on the development of the area. Their immediate influence on the destruction of the surrounding bush and ensuing erosion is beyond measure and may lead to an uncontrollable situation. Steps should be taken at once to entice these people away from the sensitive slope and to create opportunities so they may be able to contribute towards the growth of the local potential. To ascertain any possibilities for their incorporation it is helpful to note their main characteristics and particularly the differences between them and the local people.

Two of the younger men adapted quickly to Lozi ways and work as self-employed fishermen by the river. One is being posted with the army and another is almost permanently away working in Zambia's sugar plantation. Two more have tried their luck in commercial enterprises, but one of them, who had just then completed a jail sentence for misappropriation of goods, was unemployed. His brother had for K2 a day entered into employment with the Lozi storekeeper who has the best placed sales position but does not consider serving behind the counter prestigious enough for himself. The three older men of these communities are almost the only members of the three villages with an appreciable knowledge of indigenous crafts. Each one of them appears to be able to put his hand to making iron tools, carving canoes and wooden implements as well as weaving mats. With such a variety of skills they are occupied most of the time making one thing or another as it is requested. It is doubtful, however, that any one of them would have sufficient work of one kind to support himself and the family. One of the three has some renown as a herbalist and sometimes with his sack of herbs, roots and branches he travels long distances along the plain margin and on to the plateau.

The women of these communities are particularly busy brewing beer. But drinking beer appears to have much less of an obvious effect on the males of these forest people. Caterpillars, herbs, mushrooms and wild fruit are

far more prominent in their diet than meat, milk and fish. Temporarily they have been given some sishanjo land below the slope where again and again they try to grow maize. But when the maize is about half grown the water level rises to within the root space causing the plants to die. The Mbunda people are more familiar with the cultivation of millet and cassava in the sandy soils. Their main gardens are therefore well over an hour's walk away towards the east on the plateau. The social situation of the young women is very much the same as in the main villages, though generally they appear to be less independent of their men in the community. One teenage girl is employed in the Social Development Sewing Project, one seventeen-year-old left grade V before her illegitimate child was borne and her sisters, cousins and friends are divorced. The traditional marriage between one of the women and Chingumbe, a fisherman in the community, was broken off almost overnight as he became suspicious that she gave him a fertility herb which would enable her to conceive. Several small children whose parents work as far as 200 km away at Kaoma stay with their grandparents to attend the nearby primary school.

Assessing the potential of the communities one of the obvious conclusions must be that the indigenous skills of the older generation should be saved and developed. Though men in the other three villages do not show much competence in these crafts they are commonly

found in villages of older Mbunda origin along the plain margin and slope. The younger generation of men appears to have shown little interest in these crafts and rather looked for work elsewhere. With the limited scope for the crafts this is not surprising, particularly if other opportunities offered themselves. There is, however, no bright prospect of jobs for those about to leave school, who are not likely to obtain much of a pass mark which would enable them to continue schooling.

An organised demand for craft products such as hoes and gardening tools, wooden handles and implements, mats and basketwork would fan the interest of the young. Needless to say, locally made hoes with light wooden handles are preferable to the heavy, crude iron implement with a heavy hardwood handle which is everywhere on sale. Experience has taught me that the tool is not only heavy but that it is almost impossible to fix the blade to the heavy hardwood handle and consequently makes working with it very difficult. Other lighter gardening tools could not be found in any store in Mongu, Lusaka or Ndola, and without them cultivating vegetables was also impossible. A market for some of the products exists therefore already and with the development of farming and gardening it would quickly expand and grow. Any organised demand for tools with handles or other wooden implements does, however, necessitate also an organised supply of raw materials. Even at present the casual production of goods from wood

is responsible for a great deal of destruction of the already exhausted bush. All planning for the area must, therefore, contain an environmental management policy. Planning for the re-settlement of these communities in the very vulnerable slope locations before the destruction of the environment has gone too far is imperative.

CHAPTER 6

ECONOMIC ASPECTS: AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

Agriculture

The villagers have among themselves as many as seven different types of gardens and practise just as many methods of cultivation. The different types of cultivable land are easily discernable on Plate 2.* The varied methods of cultivation do not speak for the importance of farming in Lozi economy but rather for the determination of the people and attempts of adaptation to various types of environment. One of the men in Namboma referring to the method of mukomene said,

> 'it is not a good way of growing crops, but it is making the best of very poor conditions.'

Ancient Lui culture, I was told, relied only on water lilies and other aquatic plants and herbs. When, however, sorghum was introduced the people found it grew well during the rainy season on the hillocks of the plain. Once the land was manured by the cattle, and the seed was sown the crop could be left to grow under the influence of the weather on the hillocks which had been cut off by the flood. When maize was introduced - the old villagers appear to have considered maize as a recent arrival during their childhood - it was found to do better on the alluvial

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* See folder inside back cover.

clay flats along the river banks, from which the flood water had retreated. The hill gardens known as mazulu and the alluvial flats known as sitapa became thus the traditionally valued land on which traditional methods of cultivation of sorghum and maize developed.

The villages in their marginal location despite differences in micro-ecological conditions value the same garden system. Mazulu within the seasonlly flooded area are very much like those of the plain proper, but they are also maintained on the platform where they do not offer protection against flooding and could well be levelled out. The soil transition zone on the platform, between the pure sands and the sishanjo, where conditions of waterlogging approximate the period of flooding on the plain, an area which consequently has similar conditions for the cultivation of maize, has been called sitapa.

Though the Lozi have special names for kitchen gardens - damino or lilaka which I was told lie always behind the house - there are none in the villages concerned. It seems that traditionally kitchen gardens on the plain were closely related to site conditions which were utilised to the fullest potential. The seepage zone of mazulu was probably exploited as kitchen garden. But along the valley margin the much wider belt subject to more intense seepage required a more specialised approach. Because of the more complex situation this strip of land does not seem to have been used except as a source of supply of

thatching grass until, with improved tools under Lewanika, the project of large-scale drainage was undertaken. A relatively short time has elapsed since the completion of the drainage canal network which, with ensuing changes in the political and social system, gave the people little chance to evolve a system of gardening appropriate for what is a productive and promising area, which warrants more detailed attention. The forest people incorporated into the newly evolving Lozi society helped to consolidate the knowledge and use of bush gardens known as matema and the various types of crops associated with them. The most widely propagated of these crops is cassava grown by various methods in different locations, as well as millet. Cassava is grown on patches within the village confine, usually it is said in front of the house in Matongo gardens. Because of the limited space in and near the villages many have their matongo on the slope above. Transhumant people who during the time of the flood seek temporary refuge on the platform with no claim to lands, make the best of the waterlogged sands heaping them up within the boundary of a drainage ditch which is generally known as mukomene. Permanent settlers in the villages have also taken to growing crops by this method.

Except for the holder of title lands members of Namboma and of the Mbunda community rely mainly on matema or bush gardens which lie more than an hour's walk on the plateau to the east of the villages concerned. In the forest which has been thinned out by timber exploitation,

on Kalahari sand with little inherent fertility and no organic content the people practise a modified slash and burn method common in many parts of Africa. As cassava with an average growing period of three years is the main crop land had to be cleared and planted for three consecutive years until the fourth year round a crop could be harvested. Millet, the best suited grain for the highly porous land with a short rainy season and erratic falls, is grown on part of the matema. When the first rains of the season have softened the ground and promise to promote growth women start in the early morning on the long walk to the gardens to dig and plant. As long as the rains last they do so repeatedly to weed and cultivate their crops until harvest time. The crops grown are, however, only a second choice after maize which is generally preferred as staple, but yields are insufficient to support the people. With several small cash incomes to the village Namboma community considers these gardens more as an insurance; for the Mbunda people, on the other hand, they are an important element in their livelihood. Efforts to wrest, without the possibility of shifting, which is an important element in the slash and burn system, year after year something from the poor soils, will within a very short time reduce yields, even of crops as undemanding as cassava, to a level where returns do not justify the work. Indeed this point in time may already have been reached and something must be done quickly to avoid starvation of the people and the complete destruction of the land.

The forest area is however, a separate and distinct ecological zone which can hardly be developed by people living on the plain margin. Lands marginal to the plain are an entity in themselves which, to obtain the best results, must be utilised independently. Growth and progress will only come from the interaction between the ecological zones once their respective potentials have been opened up. Peasants, who live on the plain margin and work forest gardens, should therefore be helped, to use their skills and crafts in the process of integrated development of the plain margin to support themselves, rather than rely on destructive exploitation of the bush. Considering that many of these people are recent arrivals and all of them have come from outside the area they live in, that they have still a knowledge and skill of many crafts, this should not be too difficult.

For those with very strong Lui tendency and plain orientation cassava, which can be harvested any time once it has been allowed to grow, is a relief crop during the hunger months January and February when maize has not ripened yet; rain and humidity make it difficult to grow very much else, and the flood has reduced the harvest of the water. The people of Nasitoko and Nanyando cultivate therefore matema as near to the village as possible. Consequently the slope has been cleared as on family allotments bush had to give way to cassava. To allow maximum food for the roots the soil between cassava plants is kept clear of grass and bush which tends to

re-establish itself. The Sakanungu, as will be explained subsequently, has planted cashew nuts on the slope above his house and practises intercropping of cassava and millet below the trees. During May and early June the stem of the cassava plant is slashed off about 15 cm above the ground to protect it against frost likely to occur in the cool season. Because these cassava gardens can easily be fitted into a schedule of more pressing seasonal agricultural activities they help to extend the productivity of the land which is limited by the work capacity of women during the cultivation season.

Members of Nanyando and the ancilliary village of Nasitoko have enough space to grow cassava within the village boundaries in gardens known as matongo. The gardens themselves appear very much the same as on the sandy plateau and there is no difference in methods of cultivating the crop. Parts of these cassava gardens however, reach into what the Lozi call wet litongo (plural: matongo) where the seasonal water table appears to come within root space. In these wetter parts grows a cassava plant with red leaf stems, less bitter roots which can be eaten raw or roasted over an open fire. It matures in a shorter period of time than on the plateau. The villagers know it as kapumba the type grown on the plateau is known as nahuminu.

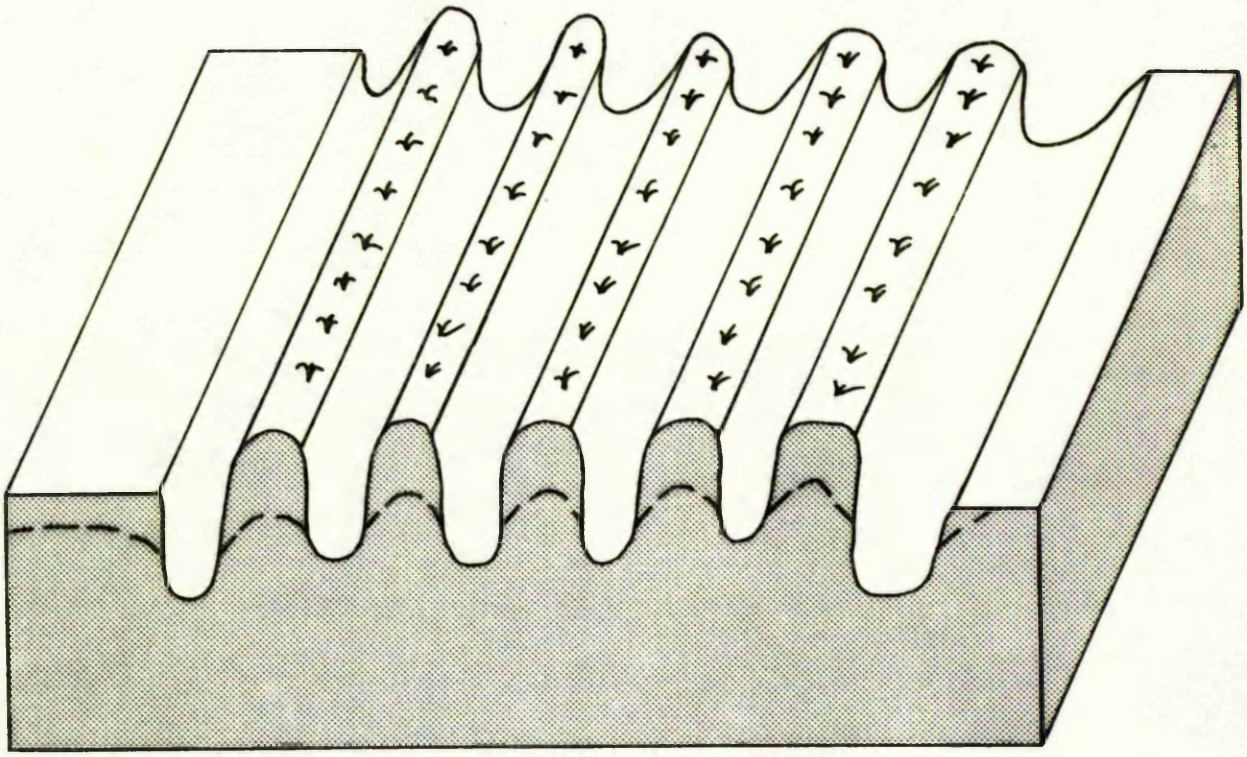
Settlers of the plain who return seasonally to the temporary settlement on the platform west of Nasitoko and indeed some of the villagers of Nasitoko grow cassava

in mukomene gardens which have been more common before the villages shifted to the foot of the slope. The principle of these gardens in areas subject to seasonal waterlogging is shown in the accompanying diagram (Fig. 11). Trenches surrounding and crossing the gardens facilitate drainage and the ridges heaped up above the level of average maximum saturation allow sufficient aerated root space. Cattle manure, if available, is more important for sitapa and mazulu gardens, mukomene gardens are therefore kept on the principle of shifting. The aerial photograph (Plate 2) shows ridging over considerable parts of the platform but only a very small proportion of this area is actually under crop at present. Most of it is in a state of rest.

Demand for mukomene gardens on the platform appears to have dropped. This is partly because of the movement of villages to the foot of the slope, but intrinsically I believe, because in the marginal villages single women without the pressure of family commitment do not make the effort to dig mukomene. The womenfolk in the temporary communities engage most of the time they spend on the plain margin in digging gardens, planting, harvesting and processing cassava roots. Their demand for land being limited by manpower, large parts of what was formerly used for mukomene lie apparently waste and could be used profitably to form paddocks under cultivated grasses. Members of the temporary communities could benefit greatly if their shifting mukomene system was integrated into a rotation system with fodder grasses.

FIG. II

Sketch illustrating the principle of mukomene gardens.



— — — Average maximum Water Level

Y Cassava Plant

Sitapa and mazulu are under the control of indigenous members of the three villages. Much of this type of land on the platform is being worked but there is still unused potential on nearby erosion surfaces. One or two large mazulu and sizeable plots of sitapa usually go with the title of the village head, the rest of the land held by members of the extended family, is worked by wives and daughters, each of whom has been allocated a specific garden. Women having their own allotment are unable to cope with the additional digging of the title lands which previously it seems were worked by co-operative compulsory labour of unfree village members. Ox ploughing has therefore been introduced for some time already. The need for ox ploughing is met by a member of the temporary village Liali. Managing a large herd of cattle he commands a sufficiently large team of oxen.

Planting times and cultivation details vary according to micro relief conditions, the depth of the water table below the surface and soil types. Gardens with heavier clay soils may be ploughed in May/June soon after the harvest before the ground dries out completely. But large boulders resulting from this first cultivation may have to be broken up by hand or a second ploughing before planting can be done. To conserve moisture more loamy areas with a higher watertable are not ploughed until planting is imminent. Such loamy areas, mainly sitapa, are planted as early as August/September.

Moisture evaporating from the relatively shallow water-table and heavy dews enable seeds to germinate and grow before the start of the rains. All going well maize can be harvested from these gardens in December/January, the early part of the rainy season. But if, as mentioned earlier on already, heavy rain sets in during November/December, as has happened in 1979, much of the crop of this land is subject to waterlogging and dies off before it bears fruit. Drier areas, particularly mazulu which originate from termite mounds, cannot be planted before in November/December the regular rains have soaked the soil. Those planting maize on mazulu often do so progressively from the periphery towards the centre as the soil softens. Mazulu planted with maize have therefore usually a much smaller or entirely different crop of vegetable in their core area. Because of this, probably, people tend to continue growing sorghum on the larger clay mazulu. One of the artificially constructed sandy mazulu on the other hand, only produces a good crop of maize when heavy rain tends to ruin the crop in most of the other gardens.

Maize is certainly the most dominant crop in these gardens. Sorghum is significant. Tomatoes have become the most important vegetable intercropped with maize in peripheral areas, but the more traditional pumpkin is also very common still.

The diversity of conditions and cultivation methods used in response to them help to space agricultural

activities over a prolonged agricultural season. When conditions are very favourable yields from both types of gardens give a very good harvest, under less favourable conditions cultivation of both types of land is a form of insurance against the weather. From the beginning of August burning, ploughing, digging, planting and cultivating alternate. By mid-December when all maize planting is accomplished and heavy rain promotes weed growth a constant round of cultivating and weeding begins. Late January mazulu are prepared to sow sorghum.

There has been little change in the method of planting any of the crops. Maize seeds - usually home-grown, though selected - are not of very good quality. The grains are allowed to germinate in water and are then about three at a time, placed in hollows at least 75 cm apart in all directions. Once the maize has grown into sizeable plants the healthiest are allowed to continue growing. The weaker ones are pulled out during weeding. This not only upsets and retards the growth of the healthier plant but is very wasteful in space and seeds. Isolated peasants in the neighbourhood at large have adopted planting in rows.

Tomato seeds are scattered on the periphery of the maize gardens. The whole area is then left to grow under the influences of the weather and chance. Pumpkin seeds are frequently added throughout the plot when the maize, about 25 cm high, is weeded for the first time. Early scattered showers in October/November alternating

with bright sunshine are ideal for the rapid growth and ripening of tomatoes which by late November or early December are harvested before the maize. Tomatoes sown a little late and growing into the rainy season with high relative humidity and less sunshine do not do so well and usually wither away under an attack of a kind of mildew. In other villages such as nearby Mindi (Fig. 5) on the flood plain margin of the platform for example, tomatoes are broadcast into the saturated flats left by the retreating flood waters. With relatively little care harvests are usually very good.

Early maize cannot be left on the stalks for drying. But most of it is eaten green - boiled or roasted on the cob, as such it fetches a high price on the market and the need for drying does not arise. Later crops are left to dry out on the fields but are also relatively quickly used up. Yields from gardens of the various members of a family, unless sold for cash, are pooled for the upkeep of the family. Peter Libala whose family has one of the largest shares of traditionally valued land and who, planting bought hybrid seeds, probably has the highest returns, claimed in 1978 a total harvest of 12 bags loose grain. Even for his relatively small family this was not sufficient.

When the maize has been harvested cattle which are on the plain margin during this time are turned into the stalks for browsing. Once cattle have cleaned through the garden the remnants are burnt and the cattle

are, during the nights, kraaled on it to fertilise the ground for the next season. Because harvesting is not done uniformly cattle, unless well guarded, do break into maize gardens which frequently gives rise to claims for damages in the local court. One of the villagers claimed he had to pay K25 damages which he rightly considered far too much, but did not, once the court had decided, think it was wise to cause friction in the neighbourhood.

Sorghum, once it is sown, is very undemanding and left to itself until by late April the seeds are forming. From the time of seed formation until harvest in late May a constant watch has to be kept, day and night, to keep the birds off. When the sorghum is ripe the grain bushels are cut off and laid out for drying. They are filled in a sack and beaten with sticks to extract the seeds from the pods on the bushel. Maize is taken off the cob by hand. Only two villagers, one in Nasitoko and one in Namboma, have traditional grain stores. Most of it is stored in sacks in the houses, both before and after threshing.

Mazulu and sitapa are poor maize land and there appears to be little hope and purpose to spend time, energy and resources to increase maize production in the area. Peasants are only able to produce what they have by taking note and adjusting to the variety of micro ecological conditions. These conditions together with social tradition rule out any modernisation and uniform production

on this land. There appear to be no crops which would suggest themselves as a satisfactory substitute for maize, which, more suited to the environment, would bear more profitable yields. The traditional esteem in which these gardens are held would make it impossible to persuade the people to change to anything unless it is being seen as tried and proven. It must therefore be hoped that better utilisation of these, possibly for the production of fodder crops, must be left to the discerning decision of the villagers who, once they become aware of the advantages of cultivated fodder crops with ensuing profits from beef and possibly milk, will not be slow to change. Systematic intensive market gardening of crops such as tomatoes, cabbage, spinach, etc. is also a possibility. One of the old men in Nanyando who died in 1979 had indeed grown vegetables under irrigation on a sitapa. Unfortunately he was no longer able to do so when I arrived in the area. But the diversion canals through which he abstracted water from the main canal during the night and the storage basin from which he distributed the water in furrow irrigation during the day are still apparent. The greatest hope of improving, modernising and intensifying production of cultivated crops immediately lies, therefore, with the sishanjo.

The sishanjo is not only an inherently fertile soil region, it is the largest single continuous area, which though allotted to individuals, does not have the high traditional evaluation and appreciation. The canal

system is badly maintained. It was evident that villagers dispose of weeds and waste into the canals instead of clearing them. Gardens which are being worked are usually burnt off at the end of the season which in relatively short terms is bound to lower the organic content and to destroy the texture and structure of the soil into a heavy easily compacting mass. The area as a whole shows a wide variety of uses of which only one or two appear to be relatively successful.

In November 1978 the band of gardens on either side of the canal (Plate 2) appeared like a waste zone. Overgrown grasses on more than half the land obscured the efforts of producing something on it. Crops found, were as already mentioned elswhere, bananas, cassava, maize, pumpkin and sweet potatoes. The latter planted in patches of modified mukomene gardens were yet another relief crop. Cassava grew well in the dry spell following planting but started to rot when the soil was waterlogged during the flood. In the hope of getting at least something from the land several patches were intercropped with maize, cassava and pumpkins.

Amidst the maze of apparent wasteland were two gardens which at first sight gave the impression of considerable, if limited, success. One of these belonged to an old woman in the ancilliary village of Nasitoko. She was fortunate enough to have her plot adjoining the canal. The annual clearing of the water weeds deposited on the bank has helped to build up the land to considerable

height above the average water level. Living with her very old mother for whom she feels responsible the woman still practises a form of traditional gardening and is particularly conscientious in weeding and hoeing after the rains which maintains good soil aeration. Her patch of intercropped maize, cassava and pumpkins was a joy to behold.

As suspicions subsided and I became a familiar sight in the neighbourhood Popolo invited me to inspect his garden which not only overgrown grass but also a line of banana trees was hiding from view to anyone following the semi-public footpath. Because in the dry season the water level dropped, he had blocked the drainage channels to slow down the flow and drainage of water from his land on which he had then sown tomatoes which at the beginning of November were ready for harvesting. As I was able to provide him with other seeds Popolo had a year later expanded his garden to about three times the size growing a variety of vegetables such as onions, chinese cabbage and kale. He cultivated intensively, fertilising his patches with cow dung which he had collected in the grazing areas. Popolo's idea of blocking up the drainage channels quickly caught on among the people holding surrounding plots. It explained why my suggestion to clear them so as to improve the condition of the land met with considerable objection and resistance.

There is, despite the lack of traditional appreciation, nevertheless a strong awareness of the value and

potential of the sishanjo among the people. A simple fisherman questioned me about the development of polders in Holland and queried how similar methods could be applied in areas of the Zambezi plain subject to flooding. The people in the three villages under study followed the transfer of black sishanjo soil to the gardens of the educational establishments on the plateau where now good crops of vegetables are growing on them. It must be remembered that gardens of Europeans or, as it was the case of European initiated enterprise, are apparently not subject to the same taboo of witchcraft and therefore more readily accessible than the plots of fellow villagers which they have no business to inspect.

In keeping with their character many of the people all along the plain margin attempt to grow vegetables. A young man from Nasitoko introduced me to the village of my choice, when the news of my participation in the work of the women in the garden had spread. He waylaid me on my visit asking me to inspect his gardens. Following the invitation I found myself being given a hoe to put my suggestions into practice. The type of scattered seedlings he had planted indicated their origin from the mission establishment gardens. Later on he conceded this, still with great embarrassment, but from the moment he had brought me there he had no doubt that I knew it. He was also fully aware that my silence at the realisation of this was less an approval

of his indirect way of acquisition than an expression of encouragement to get on with the task of growing something. He could not, as was apparent many a time later on, resist the challenge of pitting his cunning and diplomacy against mine. It was the beginning of a fast-growing human relationship and trust. My own decision to join up with him paid off unexpectedly quickly as I was called upon by people all along the plain margin and found open doors wherever I went. Apart from being able to experiment practically gardening on the sishanjo, it gave me the opportunity to gain an insight into the life of the people which very few will ever have been fortunate to have had.

Where and how to obtain seeds was a predominant difficulty. Tomatoes are frequently grown from the pips of a ripe fruit they managed to obtain somewhere. The villagers all know what I had to learn by experience - seedlings have to be grown on the moist soils of the wet litongo in the shade of the banana trees, anywhere else, no matter how well they are watered and sheltered against the sun, as soon as the soil begins to dry ants and insects feast on them. Seedlings disappear as they pop out of the ground. Those who could procure seeds therefore planted them only in the shade of the bananas where they were left to grow and mature. Those with no access to such land entertained no hopes of ever growing any vegetable. The success of the old man in Nanyando and Popolo and several others in the neighbourhood does suggest, however, that it can be done.

It should not prove difficult to regulate with a system of sluices and pumps, possibly driven by wind power, the underground water in the gardens to a consistent level as required for the cultivation of shallow rooted vegetable crops. Even if the problem of high humidity might initially be insurmountable and make cultivation in late December to early February difficult, an average growing season of 10 months should be long enough to allow for two vegetable growing seasons a year. Difficulties attending the cycle of the seasons throughout the rest of the year could be monitored and counteracted. Such include particularly the attack on germinating seeds on dry land as already mentioned. A white caterpillar which eats out the heart of plants such as cabbage and thus prevents it from growing and maturing is also prevalent. A type of cutworm cuts the stem of well established plants below the leaves. With the onset of the rains swarms of grasshoppers attack everything. Slugs are a menace to strawberry growing which would do very well on part of the sishanjo and sitapa. Otherwise in the dry season, provided plants are sufficiently watered, growth is rapid. Under present conditions it is ideal to plant seedlings while moist ground prevents attacks from ants which destroy the small plants and with the application of insecticide ensure the growth of the plant to a stage where caterpillars can no longer destroy the core of it and finally to water it regularly until it is fully grown.

It will be more difficult in the dry season to establish seedlings for the second growing season of the year. Some types of vegetables lend themselves better for this than others. Such seedlings as can be raised successfully do very well with the onset of the rains provided surrounding grass has been cleared to prevent grasshoppers coming into the gardens.

Unfortunately there is at present very little help for the people to assist them in counteracting attacks by disease and pests or to advise them in methods and procedures best employed in the growing of vegetables with which traditionally they are not familiar. Pesticides are available and villagers believe in them as they believe in magic. The application of it without spraying equipment, which under present conditions people could not invest in, makes vegetable growing too expensive to be profitable. Misunderstanding also invalidates the use of organic fertilisers such as chicken manure. The lavish application of it on small plants burnt them up instead of boosting their growth. The value and importance of something as simple as frequent hoeing after the rain, regular weeding and watering are unfortunately not appreciated. After all maize grows with relatively little attention apparently well.

To help people who are interested in working these gardens and to encourage others and rouse their interest an effective extension service versed in the

problems and effective remedies, with efficient field staff, is imperative. It would be advisable to establish in every village an extension project on empty sishanjo land. Communal working on such extension schemes would be the most effective way of convincing the people of the use and potential of their land and returns from the co-operative project could be ploughed back into the village environment. Such a project would come very close to the traditional rule of communal cultivation of the king's and headman's land which it appears gave the people a lead. It would be a helpful response to an explanation of many prominent Lozi who account thus for the lack of cultivation activities,

'Our people are not used to work on their own.'

Extension service should besides advice on types of seeds, methods of cultivation and pest control, provide a communal service of a spraying system and a distribution system for necessaries such as seeds and tools. Implementation of an effective and efficient extension service machinery must be matched by a network of collecting points and reliable outlets for the crops produced.

Development along these lines would profitably employ the large pool of female labour which traditionally is responsible for cultivation. It would stimulate them into activities other than the brewing and selling of beer. Provisions of vegetables should quickly rise above the level of local consumption and provide raw material for processing and export. Vegetables in particular lend

themselves to sun drying or dehydration by processes based on solar energy. Cheaply processed and easily packed vegetables could thus be subsidised to alleviate food shortage in other parts of the country and continent. The initial reclamation of many of the gardens and drainage network is certainly hard work. Continuous working of the soil will simplify this and canal maintenance could well be contracted to unemployed male workers on a levy paid by those who work the adjoining land. One of the village members proposed at a ward meeting that all those who do not work the land and consequently do not maintain the channels should have to pay K10 with which maintenance could be paid for.

Being the only relatively large continuous tract of land which lends itself to improvement, it is obvious that any development and production to absorb a large labour force and to support the adjoining villages must be intensive. Fortunately conditions are favourable for this and the people are ready to exploit them. Observations in the area have shown that the lack of development is not in the main due to a lack of initiative and enterprise but hampered by the lack of knowledge of a specialised system of cultivation. Environmental factors intensify lack of expertise. The almost complete absence of an extension and advisory service beyond a nominal representation in offices in Mongu, defeat all the repeated attempts of the people and confirm their stoic acceptance of frustration.

Cattle Raising

Only one man in each of the villages owns cattle. Mr Mwyia, Nanyando of Lui descent inherited, as the only descendant, over 70 head of cattle at the death of his mother who, he said, had built up the herd by natural propagation only. In the meantime the number which does fluctuate through losses and natural increase has dropped to round about fifty. The main cause for this was slaughter to cover larger expenses such as the building of his brick house. I could not ascertain how it was that his mother was the uncontested, sole owner of the family cattle, but surmise that though she was too old to succeed her mother to the title 'Sikombombwe' she nevertheless laid claim to the family parent stock. Mr Mwyia was no longer young when his mother died and thus he told me the cattle came when she died to him rather than to her remaining sisters. He in turn, no longer young, has already allocated the various head of cattle to his children, to ensure that relatives cannot deprive them of their inheritance on his death. Repeatedly however, a cow allocated to one of his sons died, he thus concluded that the boy was not lucky with cattle and therefore transferred his cattle nominally to the care of yet another son.

Sakanungu of Namboma has a considerably smaller herd of 12 animals including three oxen. The number of oxen is still too small to plough his own fields which is

usually done with four, but it appears that he is aiming to form his own ox-team for field work. At present most ploughing in the area is done by a member of the temporary village of Liali who as guardian of a composite herd commands a greater number of bulls and oxen. Peter Libala of Nasitoko had in 1979 six cattle and four calves. The Livumbu was sometimes said to have two head and at other times to have none at all.

Mr Mwyia kept his herd independently. Mr Sakanungu pooled them with those of his half brother out in the plain who takes charge of them in the dry season. Peter Libala and probably the Livumbu had formed a composite herd with the animals belonging to other members of the extended family, some of whom were working in Mongu or living in the plain. The cattle are usually in charge of a herdsman recruited from a more remote area. The herdsman tends the cattle and moves with them from place to place. The ultimate responsibility for the animals, however, rests with the man who according to the season has been appointed to supervise him. All cattle are of Barotse breed, large, heavily boned, humped animals with generally large lyre-shaped horns. Barotse cattle are hardy and slow maturing. Females calve for the first time at over three years of age and males start serving when they are about two years old. They have characteristically large but not very durable hoofs well adapted it seems to the waterlogged conditions of the plain. The poor durability of their hooves gives them, despite

their even temperedness, a low capacity for work, but their size shows good possibility for development of beef production. The Barotse plain appears to have always been and is still free of tsetse fly. The cattle themselves are usually not heavily infested with ticks. Milk yield per day at the height of lactation period is estimated at 2 litres but varies greatly with fodder conditions.

Cattle management is still entirely traditional. It implies little more than castrating and culling males, regular serving of cattle which is preferably done to time calving on the plain where fodder conditions are better, and the taking off of older animals. With a peak milk yield of 2 litres a day it is obvious that cattle with calves have no milk to spare; under poor conditions they have not even sufficient to sustain the young stock. Calf mortality as well as the rate of mortality of cows in calf is therefore very high and still higher for those with calf in the rainy season on the plain margin. Despite the rains cattle are during this season more restricted to limited, uncultivable areas with larger, straw-like, unpalatable grasses. Thus in contrast to many other cattle raising areas in Africa, Barotse cattle actually lose condition during the rainy season.

From June to early December the cattle are on the inner plain, near the river. During the day they are herded on the alluvial river banks and during the night they are kraaled on the hill gardens. Larger herds are

kept within a movable pole barrier, animals of smaller herds are still tied by the leg to a pole to allow them movement within a limited radius. This provides the only form of fertilisation of the fields on the plain and is generally the main form of remuneration for the man who, on the plain, has taken on the overall supervision and control of the stock. If, however, a larger number of cattle is entrusted to his care without any other arrangement of compensation it is traditionally accepted that the man in overall control is entitled to a calf now and again according to agreement. This applies particularly to arrangements with town dwellers who have invested in cattle. The villagers concerned, themselves take care of their animals during the rainy season or offer reciprocal services by supervising the composite herd.

When towards the end of November the flood waters begin to rise on the plain, rodents and vermin find refuge on higher ground, cattle become irritated and restless and must be moved. For most herds the movement to and fro between the inner plain and the margin is gradual allowing not only for grazing, but especially for fertilising a larger number of gardens belonging to other parties of a very closely knit economic and social group of village headmen. Considering that cattle are a man's life investment it can easily be understood that the arrangement is one of friendship, solidarity and trust. A change in the transhumant system of stock raising is a threat to the

very social system and structure of the plain. Thus it is not surprising that earlier government plans to move the cattle to dambo regions in the forest further away from the plain were doomed to fail.

Even within the existing traditional framework a man keeps a constant eye on his stock. During the dry season, when cattle are out by the river the three cattle owners regularly, at least once a month if not once a fortnight, go out to the plain to check on their animals. Young boys are taught fairly early by accompanying their fathers and they quickly learn to do so on their own.

> 'If I do not do so,' one of the villagers told me, 'my cattle will disappear, and I will be told they died.'

The incidence of cattle rustling has always been high among the Lozi, it seems. On one of my field visits a friend accompanying me drew my attention to a single animal being driven townward, saying that there was no doubt the animal was stolen from the herd. The people sense such impropriety but would not interfere for fear of getting involved in things beyond their control.

During regular visits the owner familiarises himself with his cattle. Some animals may be marked but by no means all.

> 'I would know my cow in any herd,'

I was told and

> 'of course if the animal has really been sick and had to be killed the man must show me the skin'.

This of course is still no guarantee that an animal has not been killed for the sake of the meat. But the present lack of market for fresh meat on the plain and the difficulties of disposing of it without drawing too much attention probably rules this out. The Sakanungu at least has made arrangements with his counterpart on the plain by which hopelessly ailing animals are killed and the meat is shared between them.

Detection of the inevitable is not easy when all the stock is in very poor condition and more often than not animals collapse while grazing. Sighting a restive, rebellious herd of cattle at a distance my companion pointed out that this indicated the death of an animal and that the cattle would remember this for many years and behave similarly each time they came near the spot. As we approached more closely it was clear that two men kept the angry cattle at bay while another was skinning the calf to save the meat. Another time the carcass of a cow drifted past us as we paddled upstream on the Zambezi.

Mongu has an abattoir and sends carcasses to Lusaka. The plant is, however, not working to capacity. Apart from supplies to large institutes and a local market for offal sold cheaply local butchers meet most of the demand in the area. From time to time cattle buyers for the abattoir are announced and go out to the plain to procure stock. Payment, however, is tardy and, largely because of this, cattle owners sell more readily to the small butcher who pays at once and probably a little more.

He times his purchases just prior to the cattle buyers' visits. Many of the villagers, moreover, kill and sell the meat themselves. They choose a site which promises market potential where in the early morning the animal is killed under a large shady tree and the carcass is quartered over a spread of branches. At one time there was, at least once a week, a kill by the main road just above Nasitoko. Some of the animals were brought by relatives of villagers from quite a distance because it was a good market centre, others had been bought up on the plain for the very purpose of slaughter. The display of a sheet of fat advertises the quality of the meat to all who pass by. Men with business acumen would also advertise in advance to the population attached to the educational establishments and thus make sure a considerable quantity of meat has already been sold when the animal is being killed. Prices in a village sale are approximate to those in a local butcher's shop, probably a little less. With only the man who actually kills the animal to pay the villagers obviously take more from the sale of the meat than they would net from the butcher or the abattoir and they have, moreover, for themselves a good supply of meat, offal and bones.

Such slaughter falls outside the official veterinary control. Thus during a ward meeting the ward councillor, himself a local butcher, warned the people of the health hazard, urging them to direct their animals for slaughter to the butcher or abattoir. The people

readily pointed out his self-interest, asked him how under similar conditions he himself had grown so strong and healthy and assured him that they would readily comply with government regulations if they were given a communal slaughterhouse in the area. The turnover of one individual villager does not make it profitable for any one of them to invest in a slaughterhouse himself, thus they asked that such be provided in connection with the market hall that was being built.

Despite the traditional investment value there is no doubt that people will respond and sell cattle if doing so becomes profitable. At present, despite the low calving rate, the natural increase of cattle appears to bring still a better return on their money than any other form of investment. Thus even businessmen and civil servants avail themselves more of this form of investment, and only old stock and males are being sold. The people would also respond and make improvements in cattle management if it could be introduced gradually without too high a capital outlay from which they cannot see any immediate returns. The first step towards more economic commercially productive management should be improvement of pastures and increase of fodder in the rainy season.

This could be achieved utilizing two types of land - the still unused mazulu especially those which lie within the seasonally high flood zone just off the platform and the sandy flats on the marginal platform, so-called 'no man's land'. It would not be difficult to obtain the

consent of traditional rulers to sow these areas with nitrogenous grasses of high fodder value. Watering points can be provided by simple windmills and cattle could, during the day, graze in a simple system of paddocks. During the night owners could be permitted to kraal the animals on their garden land. Improved fodder supplemented with salt licks, etc., the reduction of walking distances in the course of the day, would soon improve the condition of the cattle. Though Barotse cattle are not likely to give a good performance in milk production incidental increases would give transitional improvement to the diet of the people. With increased beef production milk production would eventually become less important or alternatively a type of dairy cattle could be introduced. Greater profitability would encourage peasants to more systematically safeguarding their stock through dipping and other improvements in management which at present are being resisted. Increased production of beef will, moreover, be sure to rely more on cultivated fodder production. Thus gardens which under traditional system bring little returns, will be absorbed into beef production.

Fishing

Fishing on the Zambezi plain has as much a social as an economic significance. The Lozi know and practise many varied methods of fishing according to the

type of fish and configuration of the land and waters that are being fished and according to the season. During high flood between January and April most fishing activities come to an end.

Most fishing in the plain is carried out by teams of fishermen, but towards the end of the dry season communal lagoon fishing is important. Fishermen's teams may of course employ one and all of the various methods, but the men joining up from the marginal villages concerned are mainly engaged in netting and spearing from a canoe. The fishermen from the village communities claim that their team jointly owns the canoe required for fishing. At some time in the past, however, they had been members of a team operating with canoes and nets owned by an enterprising businessman who was also responsible for maintaining the nets. In the crocodile infested Zambezi river the wear and tear of great trawler nets can be great. In a larger organised team the money made by each catch is halved, with one half going to the owner of the equipment and the other half is shared among the men who actually made the catch. The smaller independent fishermen's teams may have no more than two members, one gently paddling the canoe while the other operates a smaller net. The larger the team the more fully is the equipment being used. A team of six allows a rota system of two men resting and four men fishing with two canoes and large trawler nets. The rota system operates day and night. Sunday is usually a day of rest and in a rotation system

a man works on an average three days a week.

George Kabanda, a member of the Mbunda community, spent, before he started work as a storekeeper, the 1977/1978 season fishing. He considered it very hard work and had left returning to fishing as his very last option. He operated with a six-man team and hired equipment. The four men with large net and two canoes could in a good night's catch make K30 - K40 but it could also be as little as K15 - K20. The fish were being sold to traders who had paddled out or walked to the river. They were priced according to size:

10 cm long two for 10 ng
15 cm long one for 10 ng
20 cm long one for 15 ng
30 cm long one for 20 ng

When in January 1978 George Kabanda returned after the fishing season to the village he had K40 in his pocket; K20 he had already spent out on the plain on mealie meal and cigarettes.

Chingumbwe, also of the Mbunda people made during the enforced rest period of January/April his own canoe. As he has his own tools the canoe cost him no more than the K3 tree licence. Otherwise, depending on the size, a canoe may cost between K100 - K150. Chingumbwe works with a companion from the village. The two are completely self-reliant in their fishing, and sell their own catch at Mongu harbour market. Market facilities there provide for a nominal fee of 10 ng for the use of a scale. They probably sold the catch in bulk at the Government

controlled retail price of 50 ng per kg for bream to buyers who resell and hawk the fish again further away. Other less popular fish sell for somewhat less. Retail prices are determined by supply and demand rather than Government prescribed prices.

Chingumbwe and his companion concentrate on fishing by night only and work more or less alternate nights. Between April and September when the waters are still high they fish with a net. Netting does not carry on throughout the night and they may have a short period of rest before they paddle for two to three hours to the plain margin.

When after September the river and lagoons shrink to within their boundaries Chingumbwe and his companion fish with spears. This can be done from a very gently moving canoe or walking slowly and quietly along the river bank. A bundle of three to six spears tied together is thrust into the fish which have settled in the reeds along the banks and in the light of a paraffin lamp are clearly visible. It is therefore impossible to spear fish without a lamp. When in December 1978 Chingumbwe's old lamp broke down and there were no spare parts nor new lamps available his fishing activity was abruptly brought to an end, just as he had made three very good consecutive catches for which he netted K25, K33, and K45. The rising waters probably caused for a short spell increasingly favourable conditions. The exhausting night's work could, however, not be maintained for any length of time. The

rapidly rising waters, moreover, quickly bring the season to an end.

For the two men of the Lozi community in Nasitoko proper life was very similar. One of them had previously, while he was employed in the nearby educational establishments, fished over weekends only. At the beginning of the season in April 1979 he entered upon it full time and had not returned to the village by December 1979 when I left the area. His companion did return very soon after the season had started, a sick man unable to work most of the time. Fishermen by the river share during their stay shelters of dry reeds or plastic sacking. Time off work therefore, does not offer much comfort either.

Lagoon fishing is a very traditional communal activity carried out in the lagoons scattered throughout the central plain and allocated to the king and the indunas. By October when the dry season reaches its highest point waters on the plain have shrunk to their lowest levels within irregular hollows and ox-bow lakes. The fish retreat with the water to await a new period of flooding. Each of these lagoons therefore holds usually a good quantity of fish and is fished in turn. The activity draws men, women and children from every part of the valley over a walking distance of many hours. On the day, looking around the plain, one can see people like lines of zului (warrior ants) winding their way to the focal point. To allow everyone who wishes to come, lagoon fishing is now confined to Saturdays only. The news of fishing and

where it is to be spreads quickly by drums and word of mouth from village to village. On the appointed day everyone sets out in the early hours of the morning. Men are carrying fishing spears tied in a bundle and women fishing baskets and food bundles. Many of the men come now riding on bicycles. The whole atmosphere is one of quiet euphoria and rejoicing, meeting friends and relations, much like the annual fair in other parts of the world. For many of the men fishing with spear on these occasions has become a sporting activity. Heavy rain did on occasion make it necessary to postpone it to the following Sunday. An early start of the rainy season with prolonged heavy showers may cut the lagoon fishing season short, but in an average season it continues despite scattered rains.

The owner of the pool has prepared it by fencing in the central deeper part with dry reeds, maize stalks and brush work. Nobody approaches the pool until people from all parts of the plain have arrived and the sign is given for a common start. Men with their bundle of spears enter the fenced-in central deep to spear the fish, women position themselves with their baskets in the run-off channels leading into the pool along which the fish might try to escape. Depending on the size of the lagoon the activity lasts for two hours and more until very little seems to be left in the water. Some pools are renowned for good catches, but overall it varies from season to season. The type of fish also varies from

pool to pool.

After the catch every man, woman or child who participated in the actual fishing has to give one of the catch to the owner of the pool. This obviously was a way of catching fish in waters with many reeds in which few men would endlessly chase shoals of fish. If the pool owner calls upon the people to help him fish, he may traditionally not touch it before. If the catch is poor and he is suspected to have skimmed off part of it he will not receive the tribute of one fish per person. 1978 was generally a very short and poor season for lagoon fishing. The dozen or so women whom I joined rarely caught anything and nobody caught usually enough to want to sell any of it. The group returned usually after more than 3 hours' walk and long periods of standing in the water, tired and exhausted, in the late afternoon. But being there was all. The Livumbu in Nasitoko has according to tradition two small lagoons. They are, however, very much on the outer margin of the plain and consequently dry up very early on in the season with very little catch. In reality they are more of a status symbol than of economic value.

The villagers of Liali, the temporary village on the outer margin of the platform, spend the fishing season in their plain village on the banks of the Zambezi main stream. When the flood waters begin to rise the first contingent of villagers moves to the marginal site to make preparations there for the flood season. The

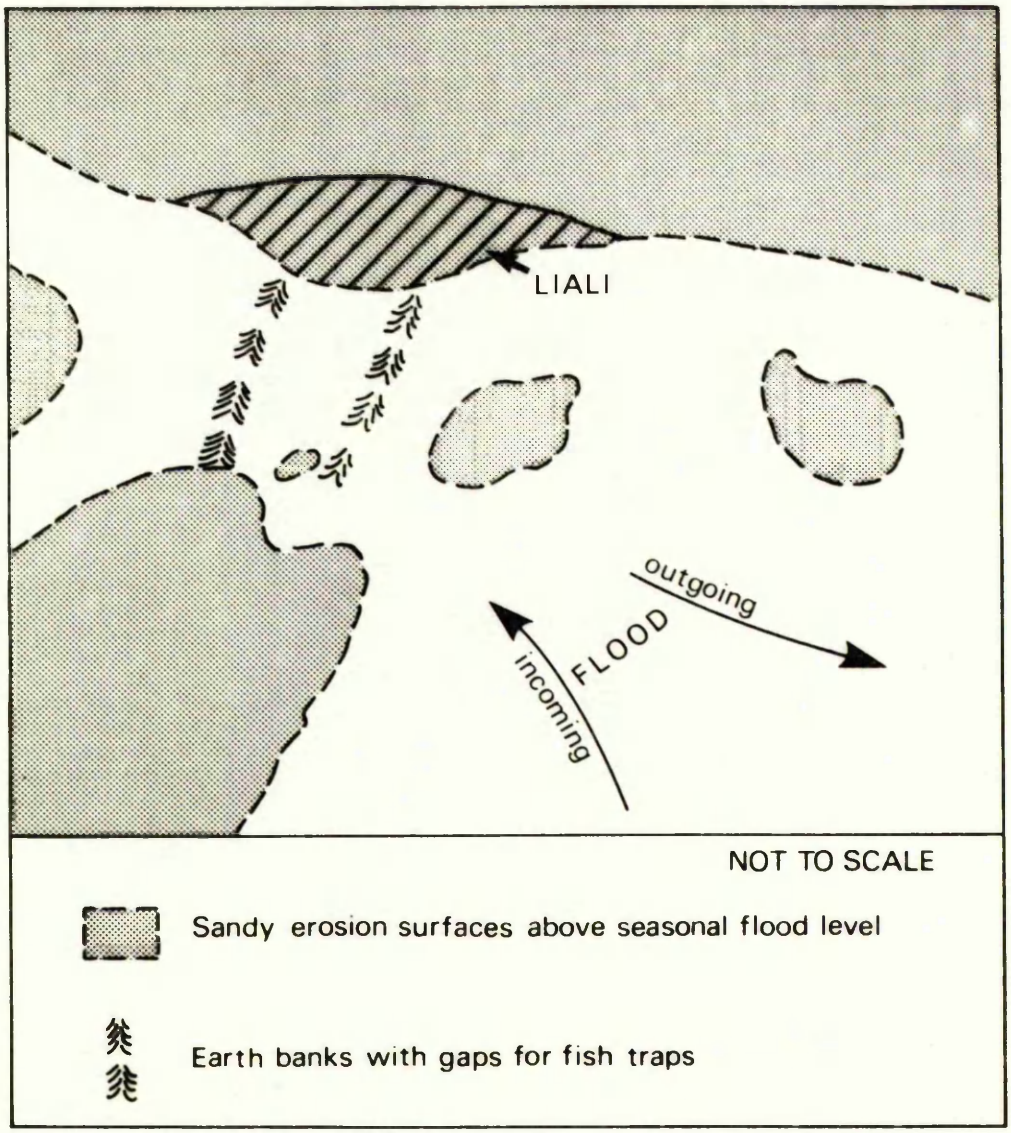
accompanying sketch map (Fig. 12) illustrates the advantages of the site for fishing with traps at the beginning and the end of the flood season. Earthbanks are built up across the shallow inlet and fishing traps are placed at intervals, the trap opening facing the flow of the water. When the flood begins to retreat the position of the traps is reversed again to catch the flow of the water to trap some of the fish about to return to the main stream.

By the time surface water has disappeared from along the platform margin the first members of Liali village community with their traps and fishing gear have already returned to the inner plain and women, children and old people prepare to follow.

Fishing is a seasonal occupation which necessitates saving and preserving some of the food supply in the productive season. Formerly this was done by drying fish, particularly it would seem, the fish that was being caught in the drier months. There were nevertheless great difficulties with regard to storing. Fishermen still dry some fish which may not justify a trip to the plain margin if there are no other immediate buyers. Usually, however, dried fish is maggot-ridden by the time it reaches a buyer. Quite naturally they prefer to sell at once and save all the extra work of preparation for drying. Today income of the season with peak activity has to provide also a living during the flood season months unless alternative work is available.

FIG.12

LIALI- Sketch map illustrating site advantages for fishing.



Fishermen speak, however, of declining yields. The upper Zambezi flowing in its entire course over hard, crystalline rock is poor in mineral and plant fish food. The number of teams of fishermen seems to grow at least during the main fishing season. Larger teams with larger nets and more powerful motorboats operate in the more distant parts of the plain. Much of the larger catches is sold to more distant places or to the large establishments. This not only affects the small fisherman, but also leaves less of the traditionally valued food for the local people. Such prospects should urge the government to examine and assess the potential of fish farming and help to develop it.

The entire platform, but some parts more so than others, particularly the very south of it near Mongu, is riddled with pits left by the extraction of brick earth, building clay and topsoil. With the consistently high underground water level the deepening and enlarging of these hollows into fish pools should not be difficult. A coordinated system of ponds on the platform would help to improve drainage and therefore make it easier to control mosquito breeding. Pond clearing, which with the rapid growth of water loving plants would be an important aspect of management could well be co-ordinated with the seasons. Clearance before the flood increases water storage capacity. Fish feeding on grass and sewage could be introduced into the system to minimise the problem of pond clearing. Fish farming would not only provide a

very valuable food resource but it would also create work and an incentive for a sector of the male population which at present suffers unemployment and severe frustration. As the sandy platform was traditionally of little use, considered to be no-man's land, there are less social and traditional objections to a prospective scheme provided it is developed with consultation and consent of the traditional rulers.

The social significance of such a scheme can be seen in the project developed at Kande on one of the tributary channels on the plateau, several miles east of the plain, 10 km north-east of Mongu. The water channel was more of a dambo than a strong stream. The induna of the area, a professional man who retired to take on the traditional role of authority at the death of his brother, and a descendant of the Mbunda chiefs whom Mulambwa had settled and recognised as indunas according to Lozi tradition, has developed a string of fishing pools along the water course. Interviewing the man left no doubt in my mind that the status it gave him as 'a man from the river' was more significant to him than the actual economic advantage which is considerable. Knowing the potential of the land and having unquestionable claim over it, he was able to develop it. Development along the platform is somewhat more complicated. The ordinary villager has no right to no-man's land, he is therefore hardly able to achieve much along the lines of commercially viable fish farming without overall planning, directives and incentives.

Other Livestock

Tradition tells us that wild water fowl have always been of significance in the life and diet of the Lui people. The forest people hunted small animals and birds. But no one in the villages could throw light upon the time and circumstances when chickens were first kept round the house and ducks were domesticated or introduced. The two types of birds are next to cattle the most common type of livestock but in no way approach cattle in status or economic importance.

The induna's extended family in Nasitoko, for example, has neither chickens nor ducks and the reason I was given was the frequency of pests and sickness among the birds. Ducks are kept by the oldest couple in Namboma and an old woman in Nasitoko. Chickens too are kept in small numbers by only a few. Apart from remnants of buhobe, which generally is disposed of in such a way that the birds have easy access to it, they have to find their own food as well as shelter. Unfortunately marauding chickens frequently cross boundaries and pick their delicacies from the seedlings in the vegetable gardens. With the prevalence of snakes it is not easy to provide secure shelter and roosting in the branches of the trees from where they can quickly escape is considered the best and safest for the few birds the people usually keep. They observe the birds closely, however, and are alert to the position from which chickens cluck once laying time comes

round. The villagers do not usually eat eggs, but frequently use them to make a present. Those who have the greatest flock usually also have a cock and drake and all others who have birds usually rely on their services.

Snakes and disease are not the only hazards for poultry raising. Hawks circle almost continuously over the villages on the valley margin. Old Johanny in Namboma had tied the mother duck by a leg to keep her with her ducklings within sight and to keep the hawks at bay. However, he was unable to save any of her brood of five.

The raising of day-old chicks as broiler birds has had some considerable response in the area. The chicks are flown from Lusaka and more than a hundred birds which have to be fed regularly must necessarily be raised in a confined space. The Malengwa Women's Club, to which three women from Nasitoko belong and a family man from Nanyando who works at the Teachers' College have constructed a shelter for the purpose very much like a traditional house but lower, larger and with corrugated iron roofing. The self-help group to which one of the young men from Nasitoko belongs is utilising empty buildings on mission premises, where several hundred birds, acquired at different times to space the sale, are kept. Though there is a considerable local market for broiler chickens there is a constant threat of irregular unreliable food supply. Chicken feed coming all the way from Lusaka has to carry

considerable cost of transport. But people in the area have also lost the entire batch of chickens because chicken feed was not available. Alfred in Nanyando has opted for some cheaper feed. He buys whole maize which his wife and children pound and mix with bone meal from the abbattoir. The latter, however, also ran out and maize was in very short supply.

Despite a great demand for dressed chickens which are hardly ever to be found in local stores the three who had engaged in raising broilers usually sold them all live, a few at a time, over a couple of days at the market, or made larger deliveries to schools and hospital. This saved them a great deal of work and with poor conditions for refrigeration it is the easiest and safest way. Selling price stood at the time at K3 a live chicken. Production cost obviously varied according to cost of feed and loss of birds, but the young man of the self-help group calculated that, all being well, at least half of it was profit. It must, however, be remembered that they utilised free, ready-made shelter and were if necessary advised in their dealings by mission staff.

One of the women in Nasitoko and Sakanungu in Namboma have also gone in for pig raising. The animals are kept within a pole fence. Unfortunately within this limited area pigs cannot forage for their own food. Both pig owners appeared to be unaware of the proverbial capacity of pigs for any type of food. The animals have to exist on scraps and the occasional banana leaves, they

are not even fed the large quantities of mangoes fallen off the tree before they are ripe. Consequently they are not only retarded in their growth, some of them I found indeed too weak to stand. The conditions of the pigs owned by Sakanungu, who seems to enter into every possible venture and is therefore less able to attend fully to any, appeared to be the worst. Grace with more limited interests can obviously give them more attention. She observed for example that I had brought scraps of porridge for the ducks and was quick to tell me that her pigs would also profit from them. Though her animals are far from being in good condition, Grace kept two females, of which she slaughtered one. The other she had served and raised two piglets. Pig raising appears to be a questionable pursuit for the villagers as there is not nearly enough kitchen waste to feed them adequately and feeding pigs on bought fodder is bound to be uneconomic. Pork, moreover, does not seem to have the same popularity among the Lozi as beef. Even though Grace moved her pig for slaughter to the township where she hoped for greater purchasing power than in the village neighbourhood, she sold very little of a relatively small carcass on the day of slaughter. By the time she called me to the rescue on the second day the meat had started to smell. Nevertheless, we washed it in strong salt solution and managed to procure some space for it in a deep freeze. Grace then peddled the rest of the meat in stages.

There is not the slightest doubt that villagers

engaged in raising broiler chickens, probably pigeons and pigs, do so as a result of their contact with the nearby mission establishments, where some of the villagers were or are still being employed. This influence becomes apparent in any conversation concerning these animals in which without fail the villagers quote the condition, type, number of animals kept by the establishments. As will be seen in another chapter, the same imitative activity can be noted with regard to vegetable growing. Even the larger establishments suffer setbacks and losses of birds through snakes, illness and pests. But the great vigilance required to avoid such does not seem to have communicated itself to the villagers. Pigs kept by the farm production units of the educational establishments are liable to severe illness, but these do not seem to be as obvious to the people as they are probably not as frequent. Moreover, the people do not seem to realise that the success of pig raising and the healthy condition of the animals is closely related to the large quantities of kitchen waste and leftovers from the hostel kitchens.

It is unfortunate that through lack of knowledge and insight into the complexities the ambition and effort of the people is frustrated. There is obviously very great scope for work of extension officers in animal husbandry which at present is non-existent. In accord with a national drive to raise broiler chickens to combat the meat shortage in the country, free construction materials such as chicken wire and cement were at the time

of research available at the offices of the Ministry of Agriculture in Mongu to those who built regulation shelters. One villager in nearby Malengwa village made use of the offer but none of those in the villages under study have done so. This indicates clearly the predisposition of the people to undertake projects of which they are convinced they will work and that they will do so in what they consider to be the most practical manner. One may conclude from this that subsidies fed into these construction materials are not the most profitable investment. With closer attention to the people and the problems they come up against available resources could be put to much better use.

Fruits and Tree Crops

Next to mangoes, bananas are the most common type of fruit grown though considerably less in quantity than the former. There are about half a dozen orange trees along the plain margin below the villages but not all of them are fruit-bearing yet. One or two guava trees and pawpaws are found within the neighbourhood. Several cashew nut trees have been planted on the slope above Namboma. The Livumbu has one mature coffee tree and recently he planted two more. He has also planted cashew nuts into growing bags hoping they will germinate. Egg fruit, loofah, pineapples and castor oil seed plants grow scattered here and there but all of them have definitely

been planted.

On a strip of land above the seepage zone the seasonal rise and fall of the underground water level has an irrigating effect and benefits during fruiting time mango, orange and guava trees. The taste, juiciness and all round quality of the fruits may be called outstanding and yields are good despite the almost complete absence of care and attention. There is very little evidence of pests and diseases affecting these trees, though with regard to oranges and guavas the limited number of trees may have prevented this. Mango trees have spread by self propagation. Pips of ripe fruit germinate easily and grow well when they fall into moist ground anywhere along the seepage zone. They are said to have come to the area during the time of King Yeta and because of the very favourable conditions for their growth they probably established themselves mostly accidentally. Coillard's observation of a completely treeless plain no longer holds good as many village sites on the plain proper are now marked by a cluster of mango trees.

Once the suitability of the mango tree for the area was recognised and the people had acquired a taste for its fruit they appear to have been planted. Therefore besides very old trees, which were probably the first to spring up on their own, a number of younger trees probably planted are found on deserted village sites and along the plateau margin. There are usually one or two trees per family. On the earlier sites, it seems, the

trees were near the house on the family plot, within or as part of the fence. In some cases this is still so. But along the margin most trees were planted parallel to the slope above the seepage zone where probably the first trees had sprung up. The fringe of trees thus continued to give shelter against the strong winds off the plain. Because trees bear very heavily and the fruit ripens within a short period of time, there was, with no knowledge or means of conservation, little point in planting more trees than would be required to supply the family. The falling of overripe fruit on the home could be burdensome and irritating. In 1979 the Sakanungu, who as village headman has control over his village area which is less heavily populated than Nasitoko, has planted about four mango trees. They are spaced along what might be called the village thoroughfare with potential housing sites along it. As an enterprising man he most certainly hopes for a better market for the fruit as the trees come into bearing, but if this should not happen he has laid the foundation for the future home of his sons. Further planting of scattered fruit trees along this very propitious site by individuals and families is possible, but there are no sizeable areas for systematic planting. With no regular, dependable market individual trees will, as in the past, only be planted by sons who intend to settle in the village sooner or later.

The isolated guava and pawpaw trees, I was told, sprung up on their own from seeds carelessly discarded and caught up in moist areas often where wash and dish

water was being emptied. These trees seem to have appeared in the 1950s only and could therefore be associated with the production and occasional distribution of fruit from Namashukende research station. Orange trees which are already fruit-bearing as well as the younger trees most certainly came from there. The two oldest orange trees were planted by the founder of the ancilliary village who in his younger years was working in Mongu and who, moving about, probably learnt of the fruit and its production. Peter Libala and the Livumbu have more recently planted 2 or 3 orange and guava trees. Despite the sparcity of these trees in the neighbourhood they are high yielding with fine quality fruits. The same holds good for citrus grown anywhere along the plain margin and Namitome tributary valley.

Bananas came first with Portuguese traders. Tall banana plants with relatively small fruits are still known as Portuguese. Because the fruit is small and the height of the stem makes harvesting difficult they are more and more replaced by a variety produced in Namashukende. Again villagers who have access to a naturally favourable site have a couple of banana plants to meet their needs, as a financial boost when a bunch of fruit can be cut, rather than a source of food. Most banana plants are parallel to the mango trees but nearer to the seepage zone. Some peasants in the neighbourhood and Popolo in Nasitoko have shown that much of the area of the platform could with controlled drainage produce a good yield of

bananas. Popolo who, using a very simple system of drainage and irrigation, is going in for vegetable growing on the sishanjou has planted bananas all along the edge of his plot to cover his crop from the sight of people who use the nearby footpath. The Livumbu has planted bananas over a relatively large plot of sishanjo and has allocated the plants to his young children. The trees receive next to no care which they match in yields. The same applies to the trees of the Sakanungu who it seems planted them to assure himself of status but does not have much time for and interest in them. Edward one of the oldest members of Nasitoko has a relatively large, well-cared for grove in the sishanjo and the old women of Nanyando have though fewer equally healthy, productive plants.

Banana production contrasts not only within the villages but particularly with the grove of Mr Kalimukwa who, through his marriage to a daughter of the Kutoma of Nalongo, came to land use rights of a considerable, otherwise little used, area on the platform. He not only entered into production of fruit which he disposes of through personal contacts, but also in propagation of plant stock. His young stock, a member of the Ministry of Agriculture in Mongu conceded, matches up well with that produced at Namashukende. The area is therefore most certainly suitable for the production of good quality bananas. What so far prevented the improvement and expansion of production is a lack of market. Another very

powerful deterrent to the large-scale, viable production of the fruit is the limited area above flood level along the plain margin and the system of tenure ruling it. It is most unlikely that, under existing conditions, any individual will ever control for any length of time a sufficiently large area to make it profitable to drain it and produce bananas on a large scale. The project of Mr Kalimukwa has yet to pass the test as the land is passed on and probably divided among the children. To support the settlements along the plain margin with an adequate means of existence a more intensive form of production is demanded.

I could not ascertain the origin of Livumbu's coffee tree. He harvests, processes and roasts the beans himself and having done so prepares the drink. As he has planted two more he is evidently pleased with it. Coffee growing would not seem to promise great hopes for the Zambezi valley, but the example illustrates what motivates and moves the Lozi.

Cashew nuts, once they have settled in during the rainy season, are found to be well suited to the plateau. The Livumbu and Sakanungu, both men with the greatest influence and command over land have shown interest for the new promise. It is doubtful if the seed pods planted by the Livumbu have germinated, if not his interest in the new crop has probably died with them. The Sakanungu has already fairly large trees planted on the slope above the house. He, however, practises

intercropping beneath the trees on the slope and there is every reason to fear that once the soil has reached exhaustion point it will be washed down despite the growth of well-spaced trees. The great threat for the successful production of cashew nuts is, as for everything else, the lack of satisfactory, organised market. The great drawback in the production of cashew nuts which command a relatively high market price is the difficulty of opening them. The Ministry of Agriculture operated at the time of the study a small research pilot scheme in Mongu but no satisfactory way of generating sufficiently high temperatures in a large plant to handle greater quantities has been found yet. Most of the harvested nuts have to be sent to Dar es Salam. This is not only subject to high transport costs but to numerous difficulties of inadequate transport facilities and international business transactions. Consequently the newly roused interest of the people has already been dampened again. It is to be hoped, that whichever way the crop is being processed the transitional difficulties will not be allowed to disappoint them yet again, but that adequate collecting and marketing facilities are being provided to encourage the people to plant the crop, particularly in areas where the bush has been exhausted. The cashew apples, moreover, yield great quantities of sweet juice which could be used for the making of wine and jam.

Centrally in Namboma are castor oil seed plants. According to Franke it cannot yet be ascertained whether this plant, seeds of which were found buried in the graves

of Pharaohs in Egypt, is indigenous to tropical Africa. I did sight smaller specimens during a field trip over the plain. Wherever the plant came from, the Zambezi plain itself, or imported by migrant workers who have also introduced other varieties of plants from South Africa along the plain margin, the plants in Namboma have been planted purposely. The oil seeds are crushed and pressed to yield oil to keep the skin on drums in good condition.

Angolo in Nasitoko is keen on growing loofah. The creeper grows up on the branches of a mango tree. He values the seed pods for washing himself. He also has several egg fruit plants which seem to do well and periodically yield fruit for relish. Angolo could not tell me where he first picked up the seeds for either, which in all probability he collected during the days he was working with the mission community. Miriam who also for many years was in domestic service in one of the mission establishments became familiar with the pineapples grown there and now has planted several behind her house.

Several points come to light in the observation of fruit growing and tree crops. The people cultivate a plant for which they have a special use or grow a fruit they have come to appreciate. They grow it in quantities they are able to utilise within the given season. The successful production of some tree crops, such as mangoes, guavas and oranges which are not in competition for land which is suitable for intensive cultivation and have a

great potential, depends therefore on a regular, reliable market. The present time-consuming sale of single fruit not only deters greater fruit production but also prevents women from engaging in a variety of other more productive activities. It should be a matter of priority to exploit the possibility of producing high-quality fruits cheaply without much cost for irrigation and an apparently low risk factor of diseases and pests. Though export markets may be limited, favourable growing conditions and consequently low production costs should make fruit processing a viable proposition. This would not only create work opportunities, but would conserve some of the seasonal surplus of fruit for the rest of the year.

CHAPTER 7

HOUSING AND AMENITIES

Housing and Mobile Property

Traditional Lozi shelters in the shape of an upturned boat seem to survive only in the fishermen's accommodation made of water reeds. In the marginal villages, as indeed in the plain villages I have visited, traditional housing has changed to the round rondavel shape, but construction materials vary from place to place according to availability. Housing in the three villages concerned shows a wide variety from temporary grass shelters, to a round or rectangular pole and dagga structure, to brick buildings which could equally well stand in a small town or village in Europe.

Grass shelters lack a firm basic pole structure. The walls consist of bundles of grass, the top of the grass up and down alternatively very much like yard fencing, knotted together with bark fibre. The roof resting on this lighter structure is of necessity also less compact and usually only a simple incline of consecutive grass bundles. Grass deteriorates fairly rapidly, after more than three years fencing and other grass structures have a very dilapidated appearance and provide little shelter. They are therefore usually set up for short-term accommodation either as a temporary kitchen - which alas may also

be the children's sleeping quarters - or as in one instance, to put up visiting grandparents for a couple of months. The women of the Lozi fringe community, mothers, grandmother and children, share a somewhat larger edition of a grass shelter. Grass shelters are not only less compact in their structure but they are also not usually given a solid clay floor. Not only do heavy rains wash more readily through the shelter, but the sandy floor is more subject to intensive cooling and evaporation at night. There is also a variety of more compact grass and pole houses one of which has been put up by the Mbunda community of Nasitoko. The very short durability of grass does not usually warrant the amount of time required for building a firmer structure.

The pole and dagga building with a firm skeletal pole structure, round or roughly square, is the most common type of dwelling. Closely spaced vertical poles of about 3 cm diameter are pushed into the ground and with tree bark fibre tied to one or two horizontal cross poles. The inside or preferably both sides are plastered with a mixture of clay and cowdung. The flooring consists of several compacted layers of a similar mixture. Roofing of these houses is much stronger and not unlike in structure and appearance to thatched roofs as they were known in England. All houses of this type in the villages have a door which mostly can be locked. The basic pole framework visible within the house particularly under the roof offers storage space and an opportunity for hanging up things.

About half a dozen houses have been built in a modified fashion of the pole and dagga structure. They have windwos, some contain two separate rooms with a small entrance hall and one is actually lifted about half a metre above the ground and entered over a couple of steps. An enterprising man in Namboma is in the process of building his house in L-shape with three rooms and a gabled roof. The most prosperous and ambitious have invested in a cement brick house with the same basic outline as the dagga houses. Brick buildings have tin roofing which aggravates the suffering of people afflicted with respiratory diseases. Equally menacing is the concrete flooring found in these brick houses. It is therefore very much to be desired that any adaptation and building proposals might retain the thatched roof and clay flooring also in more permanent buildings. In devising and promoting a practical building plan for housing in the area serious consideration should be given to the incorporation of a safe heating point from the outside on which cooking could take place in the open of a semi-enclosed kitchen, but which at the same time would help to warm up water and some of the accommodation.

For some time a corrugated iron shed originally put up as a grocery store provided sleeping accommodation for almost all of the girls in Namboma. The unhealthy condition of it aggravated the state of asthma of Sakanungu's daughter who has now built a house of closely spaced bamboo poles. The structure allows maximum

movement of air to alleviate the girl's condition.

Despite the very poor exhausted state of the adjoining forest all local building materials are free. Grass is still the easiest to obtain and convenient for temporary housing, fencing and roofing. Consequently some parts of the plain as well as the sishanjo region are important for the supply of grass. If the commercial economic potential of the plain margin is to be developed alternative construction materials must be propagated first. There is little that is suitable to replace roofing grass at present but fencing with wire netting and creepers could reduce the demand for grass to a considerable degree. The people, however, will not be able to afford alternative materials unless they have a source of income. This emphasises the need for a co-ordinated, integrated development programme.

Eventually pole and dagga houses will be replaced as people aspire to and can afford brick houses. Though pole and dagga structures last a considerable time particularly if they are kept in good repair, this requires a regular renewal of the clay coating and thus the retention of the clay pits on the platform. A more permanent cement-based mixture could be promoted for greater durability.

In the post-rainy and dry season house building and repair activities are the main concern everywhere. Villagers descended from the forest people are on the whole self-sufficient in building houses, those with stronger

Lui tendencies have usually the basic pole structure and roof put up for them. The Lozi generally have not developed great competence in the art of house building with poles which could not be found on the plain. Minimal cost for an average square or round dagga structure with roof is about K35, a considerable sum for people with no income. One of the Mbunda women divorced by her husband overnight built her house in stages, wall by wall, as reselling milk, cooking oil, wild fruits and fish earned her a little money to do it. All her activities over the better part of a year were concentrated on putting up the shelter. Even then, at the time of my departure, sacking closed off one remaining open side. Ironically the woman had, just before her husband sent her off, completed plastering his new house. Plastering and making the floor is the task of women.

Brick houses in the villages and the area as a whole are of large cement bricks made with local sand and dried in the sun, under precautions against too rapid drying which could cause cracks. A member of another village has set himself up on the plateau by the road making and selling cement bricks. The three men in the villages concerned, however, made their own bricks which left deep pits in the neighbourhood of their newly built house. Pits on and near the slope will very quickly cause erosion problems and should therefore be discouraged. Those who still prefer to make their own bricks should be persuaded to do so at a distance away from the slope in a

communal pit. This would make it unnecessary to remove each time a large quantity of overburden which might compensate for the difficulties of transport. With some understanding of the urgency for such precautions the people are certain to comply.

Considering the limited storage space and temporary nature of housing - even the best of traditional structures will leak for a considerable time before the roof is renewed - conditions are not favourable for the acquisition of other goods. Some houses, especially those of single women, hold indeed very little besides a sleeping mat, several not very good blankets hung over the rafters during the day, maybe a chair, and a collection of pots, basins and buckets. The latter utensils, no matter how limited, are prestigious and displayed with pride after washing possibly on a drying rack. As it is financially possible the items in the house increase. Great favourites after status symbols already mentioned are a paraffin lamp, wooden armchairs with upholstered seats, tables, bedsteads, radios and a variety of pots and dishes. On entering the house of one of the oldest members of Nasitoko I found that the two of us could hardly turn as his possessions took up most of the space in the house. It is interesting to note that very few people are ever allowed to enter his house, any visitors are usually met and entertained in the yard. In his younger years the old man was employed in Government service and supported the sons of his widowed half sister.

Both men are now in professions in Lusaka and continue to show their respect and appreciation in gifts.

The large brick house of the Sakanungu in Namboma is by local standards well furnished. A beautiful hardwood table made by the man himself, a disused refrigerator serving as sideboard and two large settees with armchairs are the main items which still leave considerable space to move about comfortably in a large sitting room and entrance hall combined. White embroidered tablecloths and covers made by his second wife give the entire room a clean, fresh appearance. In this case valuables and luxury items including the bicycle are kept in the two adjoining bedrooms. Cooking is done in an adjoining semi-open kitchen shed.

Because villagers, to avoid attracting unwelcome attention, guard luxuries in the privacy of their house, it was difficult to take stock of who has what without rousing suspicion by asking too many questions. Many did, however, reveal the possession of a transistor radio, for example, in their quest for batteries. Three women own a portable hand sewing machine. In the early days of the Social Development Project women who finished the course with the knowledge of sewing and some earnings had a chance to buy their own machine at a reasonable price. At present such machines as well as cloth to work with have prohibitive prices, if they are available at all.

The people's possessions and their calculated adaptation to things and activities that seem worthwhile

indicate a strong tendency to self-improvement and an overall improvement in the standard of living, if at all possible. Supported by close observation of the villages and their inhabitants over more than a year, I venture to say that though all the villagers are keen to improve their living conditions those with stronger Lui tendency put more emphasis on goods of status value and have a stronger tendency to hoard. Those who originated from the forest people as the inhabitants of Namboma seem to give preference to things which improve their way of life according to western standards. On a Saturday or Sunday afternoon the very atmosphere and appearance of the village of Namboma resembles that of many a village I have known in Southern Germany something like 30 years ago. In the neighbourhood as a whole it seems the mixture of origins of the people, with their varied inclinations and aspirations, has borne a tenacious, living spirit firmly grounded in the locality, appreciative of permanence, status, property and prosperity, alert to keep moving and evolving as the time seems ripe, to improve their way of life.

It is the misfortune of these villagers that the good fortunes at any one time were not strong enough to support them all and adequately to enable them to climb up the ladder of prosperity. Planned development which takes count of this propensity is bound to succeed. It should therefore incorporate a well co-ordinated scheme for satisfactory, practical, healthy housing, convincingly

demonstrated with perhaps a little financial support as incentive to those who give a lead. Once initiated the consumer as well as investment oriented Lozi people will be firmly set on the road of helping themselves. Permanent protective housing will soon induce them to furnish it, providing a market for local crafts and small industries. The influence of such improvements on the health and morale of the people cannot be underrated and will without doubt generate greater productivity on the land.

Amenities - Water, Sewage, Energy

The structure and relief of the area resulting in the seepage of water from an apparently enormous underground reservoir covers not only the water supply of the villages but of the entire population below and above the plateau slope.

In the villages every family unit has its own waterhole dug along the lowest point of the seepage zone where in the dry season water is found approximately 80 cm below the surface. The wells go through the surface layer of humus into the underlying white sands. During the dry season the supply is crystal clear showing up the sandy aquifer and concealing the effluent that may be contained in it. In the rainy season, however, when the surrounding ground is waterlogged and wells receive rainwash from all around they have the appearance of mudpools.

Nevertheless the villagers take at all times the greatest care to ensure a clean water supply. Without adequate drainage and reinforced well-heads they are, however, not very successful.

Improvements of the well head, even with simultaneous drainage of the sishanjo area, would, however, be merely cosmetic and very deceptive. To recognise and appreciate the high and ever increasing risk factor of the villages' water supply it is well to consider the question of sewage in the area.

An individual family unit or sometimes a small group of individuals have a small grass fence enclosure. This serves as a screen for washing for those who on cold days have the luxury of warm water heated in a bucket over the open fire, but most commonly it is used as a toilet. Usually there is no more than a relatively shallow squatting hole dug in the sand and covered with a metal lid. One family in Nasitoko has constructed two deeper pits which are being used alternately. Generally speaking such pit latrines are considered to be safe enough hygienically as they reduce the amount of raw excrement and urine polluting the surface layer of the village environment. This, however, is not so where seasonally the underground water table rises above the level of the latrines, merely 50 metres away from where the emerging water feeds the village community water supply. Though superficially placed excrement as well as animal and fish waste and decaying refuse cause problems of flies and

heavy, persistent rain washes the bacteria down through the surface layers it is still the lesser of two risks. Generally the villagers are hygiene conscious and careful to confine their refuse within an area not otherwise frequented. At a more superficial level noxious substances are, under the greater effectiveness of the sun, more rapidly broken down and decomposed than within a confined space at greater depth within reach of the fluctuating water level. Though heavy, persistent rains leach bacteria down to the underground water level, the surface layer of sandstone has some filter effect. Thus it may be said, undesirable as the prevailing, existing sewage system conditions are, the mere implementation of a pit system which from the point of cost will probably be the only method coming into consideration for some time to come, is inadequate and present conditions are preferable, unless piped supply of purified water is available to the villagers.

The villages concerned suffer, however, not only from their own problem of pollution. On the plateau above hundreds of people concentrated within a confined area cope with similar inadequate systems of sewage disposal. Even earlier well-constructed septic tanks, which were not foreseen for the rapidly increased number in the educational establishments and presently suffer from poor maintenance, are frequently blocked and overflowing, create open and concealed problems. Repeatedly on daily visits to the villages I had to navigate streams of raw

sewage oozing from the manholes and winding their way down the slope. Even in perfect working order these tanks discharge their concentrated effluent into the area's water supply. Attention to market gardening potential along the valley margin most certainly entails the use of pesticides. Chemicals of this nature are even in a well-drained and maintained environment bound to enter and pollute the water supply zone.

Though alarming outbreaks of epidemics have not been heard of as yet, the resistance of the people, who appear to have built up an immunity against bacterial attacks and infections, will under prevailing poor standards of nutrition break down. The existing high risk factor to health constantly increasing in proportion to the increasing population of the area therefore demands immediate attention without which any further development of the area cannot be considered.

The people are very conscious of the importance of a clean water supply. During colonial times several of the villages acquired lift pumps. Underground installations, however, appear to have been inadequate. The pumps merely sunk in the waterholding sands are not functioning today. Many of the villagers on the other hand cited distance from water supply as one of the most significant factors deterring them from moving up the plateau slope to the road. There is no doubt that the implementation of a reliable piped water supply in Mongu and the surrounding area as forecast according to a report

in the Sunday Times of Zambia (September 24, 1978), which will make reticulation of water between Mongu and Limulungu possible, will draw many of the villagers up to the road. Unless plans are being made and measures taken this may indeed result in a mass movement and desertion of the plain margin which would be very difficult to reverse.

Settlement on and above the slope not only promotes the destruction of the vegetation and erosion of the sandy soil but it also greatly disadvantages the development of the sishanjo soils. The communal structure with accompanying law and order of the villages would greatly suffer as space on the plateau would not facilitate the movement of the villages as a whole. Continued social disintegration of this nature further complicates and almost nullifies hopes for suitable development and progress. The provision of a water distribution point per village with the possibility of reticulation to every family home installed with some suitable subsidy by the villagers themselves might be one of the most effective methods of inducing the people to permanent settlement. With a healthy water supply assured people can, until more effective as well as costly means of sewage disposal will be installed, be encouraged to construct pit latrines for their use.

Already the Zambezi yields a good supply of hydroelectric power along its course. The entire plain can eventually benefit from its potential such as can be

utilised near Seoma where the river leaves the open valley through narrow gorges in cascades and waterfalls. The development of such a project to provide power for the rural community on and around the plain is not only costly and a long way off, but unless living and housing standards are improved by then the villagers are unlikely to benefit from it.

Nevertheless without dependable sources of energy development of the plain margin will be very slow if not impossible. At present people are probably most conscious of the shortage of energy supply in the form of firewood. The people of the plain itself have, with the exception of odd pieces of driftwood, usually depended on cowdung which is still their one most important source of fuel for cooking. Also those spending the flood season in temporary villages on the margins collect it on the platform. In the permanent villages along the foot of the plateau firewood is used and collected as it is needed. Charcoal, it appears, is only used by blacksmiths. An internal trade in bundles of firewood at 5 or 10 ng each, has grown up. Members of the Mbunda community in particular collect and sell it, while the older women with stronger Lozi traits oriented towards the plain prefer to buy it. Otherwise the children often keep the family in supply.

Procuring firewood from day to day, in the rainy season particularly, results in wet sticks which burn slowly and badly with a great deal of smoke, giving very

little warmth and heat for cooking. The day to day provision tends to come from the immediate neighbourhood and the local bush has very little left to give. Charcoal is being burnt in the forest to the east and being sold in Mongu. Eventually people will be forced to buy it at an ever increasing cost. Slowly growing hardwoods on the plateau are, however, also quickly depleted and in a country with little forest resources local coal might well be promoted through coal-burning stoves before costly timber resources are fully exploited and supplies have to be imported.

Until permanent housing permits the installation of electric lighting the paraffin lamp commonly used for fishing at night, and generally a great luxury for anyone not engaged in fishing, will for many years be an improvement on the tin can of paraffin with a wick through a hole in the lid, which at present is thought to be superior to candles. Both means of lighting are under existing housing conditions a considerable risk. In one of the neighbouring villages a house burnt down within minutes of its owner leaving it.

To improve the living standard of the people in the area, means of heating are certainly more important still than means of lighting and to secure such, alternative ways of generating energy should be considered. The process of drying crops and vegetables with solar energy as experimented with by Jones, or the use of solar panels for heating water might be given more serious

consideration. Appropriate technology could provide simple windmills found on the isles of Crete which convert the energy of the wind into electricity, stored in batteries to provide heating, lighting and power for simple appliances. The use of windmills to lift water for cattle and irrigation common in many parts of southern Africa could effectively contribute towards overall development of the area. The reversal of wind caused by heating differentials on the plateau and plain provides maximum force during the seasons of greatest demand, for drainage of the sishanjo in the wet season and irrigation and cattle watering points in the dry season.

The Zambezi Plain has despite the apparent sandy flats and its monotonous appearance, a varied potential of energy resources. But without an immediate concentrated effort to promote simple energy devices which will popularise alternative sources to power appropriate technological schemes there will be a rapid slide into deterioration and benefits from larger integrated projects will become even more remote. It may be said that the development of the villages and the plain as a whole hinges on the immediate, appropriate, profitable exploitation of power and water.

CHAPTER 8

COMMUNICATIONS, TRADE AND MARKETING

Communications

The villages lie as can be seen in Figure 2, within a short distance from the canal harbour terminal at Mongu which gives access to the wider Zambezi flood-plain and Lealui in particular. The latter, however, is in the dry season mostly reached by foot along several footpaths; in the wet season dug-out canoes can follow distributaries and lagoons from a landing place only 1 km west of the villages to the interior of the plain. The two well-worn tracks leading from the villages Sikuyu and Liumboko out towards the traditional capital are, as I was told, elephant tracks. A village elder told me that he still remembers the animals following these tracks coming for water from the forest above.

The settlements are strung out along the parallel south-north routes which in colonial times have sprung up consecutively between Mongu, the Provincial capital and Limulunga the King's traditional flood-season settlement. Yeta Road follows the drier plain margin; it is more of a footpath now. The track below the slope connects the villages. Formerly it was the main road but now it is more important as a link between the village communities. Today's main road between the two major settlements, which

in 1980 was straightened and tarred, runs along the top of the slope and is reached in a 7 minute climb. It is the main long-distance and transport route followed by villagers on bicycles or walking to work or to the market in Mongu and is theoretically served by a bus service at 2 hour intervals. On the slope directly above the three villages the main road runs through a mission establishment with a primary and secondary school and a Teachers' College. Boarding facilities for the secondary school and training college as well as staff houses and workshops have expanded the complex considerably.

Mongu (Fig. 1) and its surrounding area lies approximately 600 km due west of Zambia's capital Lusaka and the railway belt and over 800 km from the country's industrial area the Copperbelt. The 600 km narrow tarred road is the main connecting link between the provincial centre and Zambia's more economically active and productive areas. Mongu's secondary airport had in 1979 a weekly service of two return flights from Livingstone and one direct return flight from both Lusaka and Ndola. The cost of travel by air increased rapidly in 1979 when a return flight to Lusaka rose to K75, the return journey by bus to K15.

The route was served daily by the United Bus Company of Zambia and several privately run bus companies. The bus of UBZ, scheduled regularly in the early morning, was the only one with fixed departure times and was usually grossly overbooked and overloaded. Vehicles of

private companies left at any time when they were considered to have a sufficient number of passengers; they were equally overloaded and this did not improve the safety factor of hardly roadworthy buses. The tiring unpleasant journey was further drawn out during the last third of the trip, when no more company checks were being made, and drivers stopped frequently to take on short-distance, paying passengers, to line their own pockets. Thus even if the vehicle did not break down leaving people stranded for the night in the middle of nowhere as frequently happened, the buses usually took a gruelling 14 hours, despite some fast and reckless driving during the first half of the journey.

Road transport provided by Transport Haulage, private and government vehicles, has to meet the demand of transport of almost all goods imported into the provincial centre. Thus heavy trucks not only slow down the movement along the narrow road but also cause considerable wear and tear in the road, which is usually in a very poor condition with many deep potholes, particularly on either side of the Kafue Bridge, where it is also subject to a fluctuating groundwater level and flooding. Air transport does serve the need of movement of perishable goods with regard to the rural area, particularly the transport of day-old chicks.

Transport Haulage take passengers on their goods-carrying barge from Mongu out into the plain across the Zambezi up to Kalabo. But motor boats privately owned

and operated with assistants seem to handle most of the passengers and a certain amount of goods going out on to the plain. Again unless a boat is hired for a single or return trip departure times fluctuate with demand. Villagers from the plain come mostly in their own dug-out canoes. On their return they may offer lifts to outbound travellers who make good in taking a turn in paddling the usually heavily laden canoe.

From the time of early labour migration the postal service has played a significant part in relaying messages and transmitting money. The villagers of Nasitoko, Nanyando and Namboma use the postal address of any of the schools' offices or the mission station, but Mr Sakanungu of Namboma has his own post office box in Mongu. In theory the schools' offices also have telephones through which urgent messages may be transmitted but they are rarely in working order. The national broadcasting station offers a service for personal and police messages to outlying areas, but reception of the national transmission is very poor. In the three villages under consideration hardly anyone ever tuned in to it. The poor local reception is usually drowned by some kind of overseas service. National newspapers are always a day or more old before they reach Mongu and the villagers cannot afford the money to buy a regular or even occasional copy. They do, however, despite their limited knowledge of English peruse with great care and interest any printed matter which comes their way by chance.

With the poor and limited public communication system from and to the country's more populated parts the people still rely to a great extent on the transmission of messages by word of mouth through anyone who travels along the route. People coming from Lusaka as well as the outlying parts of the plain frequently carry news of death, birth or other family events for someone somewhere in the Zambezi valley. The message is usually relayed through a third and fourth person until eventually it reaches its destination. Nor has the drum lost its significance. It is still the only way of announcing events connected with the traditional life such as the Kuomboka or fishing fixtures. Even the village youth still recognises some of the wide range of tunes and sounds of the drum with which other messages may be transmitted which is, however, not apparent to the outsider.

Long distance road transport and handling of goods not only cause a price rise as illustrated in the newspaper survey of the cost of maize meal, but are at the present moment also a contributory factor to the delay and scarcity of goods in short supply throughout the country.

Market and Marketing

Since the turn of the century what may be considered a traditional market developed in Mongu. It grew up at a point where the early track from Lusaka which

collected also much of the traffic from the plateau, hit the road parallel to the Zambezi plain. The site is also the starting point of the shortest dry season overland route to the plain. The harbour, from where traffic leaves to all parts of the plain, particularly for the western margin, and which for some time was the terminus for a steam boat bringing goods up the river, is only a short distance away.

Pedlars trade not only imported consumer items but also goods from the various macro and micro ecological regions such as timber, mats and baskets, smoked and dried fish, meal of maize, cassava and sorghum, snuff and tobacco. Fairly recently the municipal council of Mongu built a market hall for the distribution of fresh fruit and vegetables. Fresh fish are bought and sold on the waterfront about 500 m west. Between the market core area and the convergence of the now tarred Lusaka road businesses have grown up on either side of a relatively wide road. Despite early restrictions on white and Indian entrepreneurs the business centre of Mongu is not unlike, and reminiscent of the early commercial premises of Salisbury and Bulawayo. Apart from this regional market centre the Zambezi Trading Company had set up stores, which distributed mainly imported durable consumer goods in many outlying focal areas. One of these stores, now without a roof and dilapidated, was in the neighbourhood of Naloke.

Within this village neighbourhood the store was

replaced by a number of simple grocers' stores three of which sprang up along the main road just above the villages under study and within less than 700 metres from one another. Their main items of sale, if available, are cooking oil, sugar, salt, candles, soap, sweets and bread. One of the stores is associated with the brick making enterprise. It also stocks iron door and window frames. Pedlars also walk the villages selling bread rolls, cassava meal, clothes, and ivory trinkets. Nevertheless most consumer items are bought in Mongu. Those working in and around the mission complex frequently set out on a free Saturday morning to spend the day and their money in town. Those working there return on pay day with their acquisitions. Those with cash earnings are, however, a very, very small minority; for the rest purchases are small and limited and depend practically on a modified system of bargaining.

Except for selling broiler chickens the villagers of the three settlements do not make much use of the market in Mongu to dispose of their goods, probably because more immediate demand exceeds the supply of their produce. Their most convenient outlet is the secondary boarding school for girls in Malengwa along the main road. In contrast to the life of pupils of the primary school and students in the Teachers' College, boarding school life is restricted, and pedlars offer food and delicacies a boarding kitchen cannot provide. Provision of break snacks offers an outlet in all three institutions.

Some people, but none from the three villages cash in on this market baking bread rolls and doughnuts which they offer for sale almost continuously during off-school hours. Most of the people, however, make it more occasional and opportunistic, either to meet a financial need or to dispose of some seasonal surplus of fruits. Hawking goods is often done by the children, sometimes even of pre-school age, or alternatively by women. The regular sale of bread rolls, which has carried on for some considerable time already, does involve teenage boys now. Their father appears to have started it and baking and distribution have now become a family enterprise. To meet financial commitments, I have known a man and his children go out in search of wild oranges, which the children then sold for 1 ng each during tea break. Between June and October, when a refreshing drink is worth its money, women go out to the plain buying fresh milk, which is allowed to sour; then frequently diluted with water it is offered for as much as 5 ng a cup. Larger and smaller surpluses of mangoes, oranges, bananas and guavas are sold seasonally. In 1978 they still went at 1 ng a fruit, but by 1979 they had gone up to 2 ng each.

Besides these fruits, which grow with little if any care, some of the villagers along the margin, one of whom is Popolo in Nasitoko, do go in for the cultivation of vegetables such as spinach, tomatoes, carrots and different kinds of cabbage. Though these crops are not bought

on impulse there is nevertheless a ready market for them among the families attached to the institutions and in the institution kitchens themselves. Popolo produces larger quantities and has made firm contacts with the larger kitchens. Buying large quantities from further away might well be simpler for the caterers of these establishments, nevertheless, they are prepared to deal in more limited quantities to support the local people and provide more fresh vegetables within the limits of their budget. Villagers who grow smaller quantities usually have families as their own regular customers with whom they have more a personal than a business relationship.

The supply of fruit and vegetables coming from the area does, not however, meet the demand of either the establishments or individual families. The former have a regular steady supply coming all the way from Mumbwa and Lusaka more than 400 km away. Household supply has to be obtained from Mongu market which derives its provisions from the same distant sources. Villagers in the neighbourhood have pressed the rural council for their own market hall which in 1979 was built where the footpath coming up from Nasitoko reaches the main road. But it will do little to improve conditions or remedy the problem - a lack of regular supply which would facilitate regular, systematic transactions rather than difficulties in disposing of what they produce.

Village life shows yet another phase of commercial activity. In Nasitoko proper two people go in for

retailing maize flour, in the ancilliary village one. They hold a hawker's licence, buy four or five sacks of maize meal which the mill against a charge for transport, brings to the village. The flour is retailed at 5 ng per large cup. Those with larger families like Angola, whose supply comes out of the store, probably do not break quite even,but subsidise their own living considerably by it. Grace, a single woman on the other hand, with little personal demand is making a good business out of it. For her it was profitable enough to employ a younger woman to mind the house and retail the flour while in May 1979 she herself was out in the field guarding her crop of sorghum.

There is no lack of ingenuity, enterprise and business acumen on the part of the villagers. On the contrary, particularly those who are not going in for vegetable growing on a larger scale ensure that they maintain their market by not growing more than they could easily dispose of. Producing more would also consume more time selling and bartering it. The time given to this, however, must be in proportion to time allocated to and demanded by other activities. Thus from the villagers' point of view it does not pay to produce more. The newly built vegetable market in Malengwa will not improve the situation, as those wanting to sell their goods still have to remain there with them, for days, keeping them on offer. At best it will entice those who have not grown any vegetables till now to have a try and thus increase

the number of people who boost their finances by casual sales. To raise the level of production, a regular reliable market is called for, which through aggressive policies awakens a consciousness of available opportunities in the people, who will quickly recognize the advantages of regular bulk selling at fixed prices.

As has already been pointed out marketing presents not only the difficulties and restrictions to increased production. Another great hurdle is the environment, which is not only best suited for the production of crops with which traditionally the people are not familiar, but which, to give the best yields, requires specialised, intensive methods of production. Marketing facilities should thus, for those interested in production, incorporate agencies which experiment and then counsel and advise producers. This need to co-operate more closely with the peasants who are already interested in improving and raising their production was long recognised in Europe by founder members of co-operative societies such as 'Raifeisen'. It would not only be a more economic extension service, but, above all more productive, than widespread isolated attempts to improve production. Besides advice and counselling one of the main services offered by a market centre should be the supply of satisfactory, adequate tools, seeds, pesticides and other farm requisites.

Theoretically Namboard has the function of marketing and supply. However, because of the lack of

interaction between research, extension, marketing and distribution Namboard had, during the time the study was conducted, next to a large store of ill-suited hoes with much too heavy handles, nothing in tools and equipment suited for the cultivation of vegetables. Again, whatever, Namboard supply store had on offer, at best a very irregular, unreliable supply of seeds, could only be obtained by visiting the supply centre in the industrial site. A cursory look at nurseries, grocers' stores, etc. during the planting season in Europe shows a display of seeds and seedlings in positions which prompt people to buy on impulse. This indicates the importance of ready availability of seeds to promote gardening. In the entire area, in and around Mongu, however, seeds were only available to those who already had the firm intention to plant. These, to ensure that they had any seeds at all, mostly had to buy far in advance or alternatively buy dated seeds. Following up findings of research, a marketing board should therefore co-ordinate an extension service, development and implementation of appropriate technology, the local production of suitable tools, distribution of appropriate seeds, buying and collecting centres for the produce, as well as redistribution locally or through export. If all these services for all possible lines of production are to be brought under one umbrella, it will end up in a maze of ineffective dealings, as is already offered by Namboard. It would therefore be advisable to encourage private enterprise, possibly a board of co-operate producers

backed by an industrial concern such as a processing plant. Tomatoes and mangoes should be two seasonal alternatives which could for a start support a canning factory.

Even though Lozi have a tendency to hoard and villagers have shown an inclination to save, the interest in saving alone is not likely to be strong enough to sustain a great deal of production, unless there is some other incentive and recompense for hard work. The Lozi have, moreover, an even stronger inclination to enjoy good living. The present shortages and lack of consumer goods frustrate the villagers to such an extent that they have lost interest in production. Again and again the dearth of consumer goods was quoted as a proof for the bad times they are living through. It is therefore important to promote the distribution of goods which fall within the range of the villagers' purchasing power.

There is no doubt, implementation of a collecting centre, which cultivates the consciousness of the profitability of certain produce among the people and which offers them the necessary advice to achieve the best results together with the incentive of a wide range of consumer items, and which promotes plans for better living, is the surest and quickest way for progress among the villagers.

Local Economy

Despite the regional importance of cattle and the Zambezi plain's potential for agricultural production

the former hardly rises above the level of the local economy and the latter is far from meeting local internal demand which is reflected in the high prices for consumer goods such as the cost of maize which initially prompted this study. Deductions made in an analysis of historical development of the area and the observations made in the villages throws considerable light on the present day situation in the province, which, once understood, should hold the answer for progress and development in the Zambezi valley.

Though productive activities in the villages are low key and unobtrusive, apparently almost incidental, they are nevertheless there. The life of the villagers does not depend on incidental collecting and gathering. It does not even depend on a tradition of cultivation which is part of everyday life and engaged in as a result of force of habit. Far from it. Every activity carried out in the villages is one calculated to give satisfactory returns to the individual to live by. It is, unfortunately, this constant calculation of what is the best way and action which prompts the villagers frequently to change course and embark on another venture. They change out of loyalty to themselves and flexibility, it must be remembered, is as often a sign of courage as it may be a form of weakness. It is even more unfortunate, that frequently individuals change course before the activities on hand had sufficient chance and time to satisfy their ambition. One of the villagers, for example, having made something like

K40 in casual sales of vegetables, retailing maize and sour milk, decided to go into big business. He spent all his money buying a load of fresh fish in the plain, which he hoped to sell with considerable profit at Mongu harbour. Battling his canoe he was caught in what was probably the fiercest storm and heaviest rain of the year. He could do nothing but wait it out by the river's bank. The delay of a day in the humid, steamy atmosphere on the river was enough to ruin his load of fish with which he sunk his hard earned money to the bottom of the water.

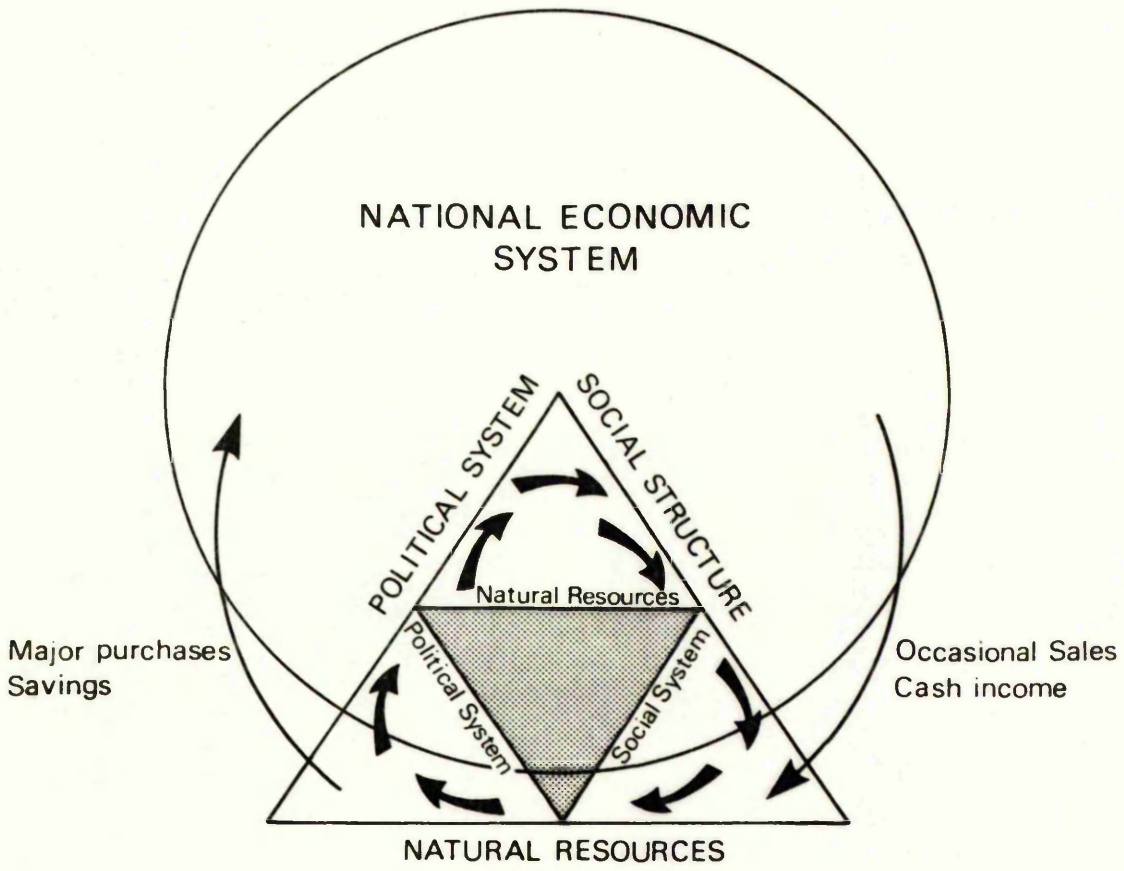
It appears to me, that losses like this, often on a smaller scale, have taught the people to bite off no more than they can chew. Therefore many of them engage in retailing, which they find is easier than digging the land to produce crops for which there is a very limited market. They enter into business on a scale small enough to rule out much risk but profitable enough to live on. So we find that besides beer many consumer items are retailed in the village by almost every individual, though few do so all the time, and they do not all do it at the same time. The rearing of livestock, growing of fruit and vegetables are, apart from the investment value of cattle, done on a basis of similar judgement. Village life shows therefore a distinct economy which utilises local and outside resources to the best advantage for the support of each individual in the community. The system as a whole might be termed a 'village economy', adapted from the early primitive economy in keeping with modern

commodities and demands.

The village economy has as indicated in Figure 13 developed from the indigenous local economy in which goods from outside came to the dominating Lozi tribe largely in the form of gifts and within the Lozi community were redistributed to friends and dependants. Today the villagers push beyond the frontier of their local resources to obtain goods from outside and to supplement their own resources through some of the members of the village who find employment outside, or through occasional sales of their produce to outsiders. Part of the money earned from outside enters the village community at large through the sale of beer; it thus circulates in the community providing necessaries and luxuries such as sugar, cooking oil and soap. Another part of the money earned does flow back into the national economy through major purchases and some of the savings of villagers. Clearly the villagers not only produce very little which might contribute towards the creation of national wealth, their very participation in the national economic system is minimal.

Figure 13 also shows that the pillars of traditional Lozi economy were the political system and the social structure; which as it were, supported the third significant element, local resources. The three together supported a growing people. The change of the political, social and economic systems in Central Africa and the incorporation of former Barotseland into Zambia as the

FIG. 13



Indigenous Economy

Local Economy

Flow of money

Western Province, affected the stability of the former economic structure. Local traditional rulers no longer have the same powerful influence over decision making which first passed into the control of a commercial company and then was superceded by a Central National Government. The early and continuous drift of prominent educated Lozi into professional occupations in the capital and into Central Government and national politics are to the local people equally suspect. Destabilisation of the social structure and conditions was even more influential. Worker migrants who for many years transferred their earnings and maintained strong ties with the valley were probably less detrimental to the social structure than the fact that they had been freed from communal compulsory labour which formed much of the foundation of the indigenous economic system. Changes inherent in the new system of education, a monetary value system and the weakening of tradition have considerable continuous effect upon the social structure.

With two of the important pillars holding the indigenous economic system severely shaken, the progress of the area was thrown completely on its minor prop - natural resources. As in the past these were only activated and productive through the interaction with the political and social system, the Western Province appears to have entered into a phase of stagnation if not retrogression. The study of the villages has shown that those of the people who remained and continue to remain have

devised for themselves a system of survival which utilises from without as much as is possible. To revitalise the whole of the Zambezi Plain the political system must be reconsolidated to bring the dynamics which operated the old system back into functioning. Politically, therefore, this involves greater self determination and local decision making by the traditional rulers under their king. The election of Paramount Chief Ilute Yeta, a man with national aspirations, to the position of Litunga augers well. If, however, this remains the only gesture towards the Lozi, it will not be long before the good will of the people will be perhaps irretrievably lost. His election should be supported by a programme for development arrived at in consultation with outside specialist experts and the province's traditional rulers, and implemented under the same authority. Planning for a revival must consolidate the social structure by communal development projects, must tap the pool of female labour and determination and offer employment opportunities to men to entice them to stay in the valley. Restoration of these elements will allow for renewed economic consolidation of the Western Province into a more mature political, social, economic entity which it was in the process of becoming when events of history interrupted its evolution. A people assured in the respect of their traditional heritage, with scope for self determination will be a much stronger link in the national, political and economic system. To achieve this the Western Province and indeed Zambia will be in need

of financial support. There are, however, indications such as the historical development, personal disposition of the individuals, and the attitude of the people as a whole which make the Lozi community of the Western Province a most promising case for international help and co-operation, to set them up to help themselves.

CONCLUSIONS

The survey of early Lozi history portrays them as a people with a stable core and the desire and competence to adapt to change, to progress, to consolidate and develop. It was this very quest which led them into combat with outside forces which proved too powerful for a relatively primitive society and thus brought the process of interaction and consolidation to a standstill.

The commemoration this year (1981) of the peasants' revolt in England in 1381 reminds one of our own feudal society in which peasants demanded freedom and equality for all under the king. This he promised, but he revoked it only weeks later because life in Britain could not improve until the agricultural and industrial revolutions had brought changes in the social, economic and land structure of the country. We should therefore not be surprised that the forceful interruption of a primitive system of interaction and consolidation without substitute incentives - which naturally, spontaneously, would lead to fundamental structural changes in the local society, economy and polities - has had adverse effects among the Lozi people. With nothing to substitute and improve on the old, the people cling to it even more desperately, making a caricature of that which once was valuable, and entrenching adverse influences such as witchcraft. They resist forcefully any innovation which they fear to benefit no-one

but those who advise or impose them.

The historical survey points to the misconceptions on which the frequently repeated reproach - that the Lozi are not prepared to work and help themselves as they have done in the days when they dug the canals - is based, and explains the failure of attempts of development in the colonial period of post-war years. Local indigenous authority in the valley can no longer command the free labour of traditional serfdom, which was instrumental for the construction of the drainage and transport waterways. With indigenous forces of enterprise being gradually syphoned off into personally more advantageous positions elsewhere, local conditions stagnated and regressed. Despite the little scope and incentive that remained locally, the innate traditional forces are still evident in the villages and development of the area will not succeed and progress unless these forces are tapped and incorporated. Creditable local effective opportunities for personal advancement and regional consolidation, introduced with adequate planning and means to meet the need of guidance and instructions to ensure success, are the only lever powerful enough to change the deteriorating order.

A further pre-requisite of any success in development planning is a sound basis of natural resources. The area is by no means, as it has often been made out to be, devoid of natural resources, though it is not suited to

the production of maize the staple food of the people. It has a wide variety of narrowly based assets, which however, are capable of intensive development and surplus production. The very difficulties attending limited assets such as the black marginal soils, emphasise the need of an intensive specialisation. As other problem areas in the world, such as the polder region of Holland, the Rhine valley, the southern valley of California, the Orange River basin in Namibia, and indeed the whole of Switzerland have become successful producers through, not only adaptation, but positive utilisation of the conditions which make average farming impossible, the future of the plain margin of the Zambezi valley lies in intensive specialisation. The advantage of the area lies in the variety of resources which make an all round integrated development possible.

Improvement in the traditional cattle raising will not only restore morale to the male population, but revitalise the social and economic structure of the people and thus lay the socio-economic foundation necessary for the development of the potential of the entire valley. Presently it will improve health and living standards of the people, the economy of the valley and the country through improved beef production and prevent the imminent deterioration of the valley margin into a rural slum.

Encouragement of vegetable production in the sishanjo utilises the natural resources of fertile soil,

warm temperatures, wind and water which in the correct use and co-ordination will, with very little input cost, produce good crops. It must however, be remembered that the process of this co-ordination is a science as well as an art. Market gardening demands knowledge and skill from people who have a great tradition in it. Successful introduction of it to people unfamiliar with this type of agriculture requires a well-planned and proven system to guide them in the process. Eminently suited to the natural environment it will provide an incentive and financial returns to the surplus of female population. Thus it will utilise the force of independent, indomitable, enterprising women who as Lozi history shows have the power to stir the flow of events. Neglect of this power with the ensuing frustration only alleviated by drink will be the sure destruction of a proud people. Moreover, though actually drained sishanjo is limited to certain areas only, a seepage zone with fluctuating water level and soils rich in humus, capable of similar development, is found all around the plain. Further it must be noted that sishanjo or any other micro ecological region discussed in this study and widespread in the valley, do not lend themselves to the cultivation of rice which indeed has done well in some seasonally flooded regions of the Western Province.

Fish farming in the deepened marginal lagoons and numerous pits on the platform can easily be developed as an integral aspect of the drainage programme and

agricultural development. It will not only help to maintain the drainage channels but yield substantial harvest for local consumption and export. Offering employment and opportunity for leisure occupation to males otherwise employed, its value as morale booster cannot be overestimated.

Similarly fruit production along the limited but admirably suited valley margin with its fluctuating underground water level has a potential far beyond local demand. Environmental conditions responsible for the quality of mangoes, citrus fruit, guava and bananas as are found along the plain margin should not be ignored. Systematic promotion of those fruits would easily yield quantities which justify processing or export. Without calculated planned production, however, quantities which are already above present local demand without warranting export or processing, will never rise much above home consumption. Also promotion of the production of cashew nuts suitable for the dry plateau and slope where indigenous shrub has lost the inertia to re-establish itself has raised considerable interest recently. Unless something is being done to follow up this interest with support for systematic, purposeful production and marketing facilities it will, like all other hopes, die away and help to consolidate the disillusionment and frustration of the people. The protracting flowering of the fruit trees would greatly support the activities of bees which should be introduced into the marginal area to give

greater value to the natural vegetation of the valley slope.

An integrally planned scheme of production on the above-mentioned lines would correspond closely to the natural potential and the resources of the area and could thus be called development in the truest sense of the word which would counteract the present deterioration and exploitation of the land. Sidelines like the raising of ducks, broiler chickens and pigs will automatically be pursued as fodder conditions, transport and marketing facilities make it profitable. According to the characteristics of the people, market facilities both for the disposal of their produce and for the distribution of requisites should be a key factor in the implementation of any plans. Profitability in the production of any line is the most promising motivator for any Lozi to increase his production further. Efficient marketing boards or processing plants should thus be organised to advise their customers in any and every aspect of production. Systematic and reliable marketing facilities will not only free, particularly the women, from the casual, time-consuming way of marketing, but also awaken in the people a consciousness and perception of the possible potential of the land.

To set off the dynamics of self-generating growth, which allow people to establish themselves in the security of their being and facilitate the creation of wealth without which there cannot be any development, plans and schemes must be both vertically and horizontally integrated.

On a horizontal basis it implies more than the implementation of a particular integrated system of agriculture; it is also more than the integration of the various rural productive activities. It demands the support of appropriate education, adequate preventive care of health, satisfactory rural infrastructure of water, power, transport, service industry for appropriate technology and construction, opportunities for alternative employment, incentives to better living conditions and consumer goods. Better employment will naturally provide opportunities for a growing population. It will not only stop the drift of enterprising people to urban areas - in particular to the railway belt - but it will prevent those who stay on from sliding into a more and more meaningless, purposeless existence. To sustain the momentum of activity and growth, effective links of communications and transport must enable the area to keep in touch with national and economic progress and provide reliable, profitable outlets for their surplus products.

Vertical integration applies to political administration, regional economic policy formation, implementation and maintenance of any plans and schemes. Initial co-operation with the traditional rulers and the people at grassroot level will not only ensure that plans will be based on better environmental perception, but carry with them the motivation for implementation without which there will be no success. Regional self-administration will help to consolidate Lozi identity which is

necessary if the people of the Zambezi plain are to be successfully integrated into the Zambian Nation. For this to be possible there must be vertical integration in every field, particularly in education. Education must not only be appropriate for the life of the majority, but it must allow and ensure the progress of all according to their capabilities through formal schooling into academic and professional training so that as soon as possible there will be a sufficiently large number to stay on and hold its own. The return of qualified manpower capable in every field to stir traditional life and resources along lines of progress and development will sooner rather than later merge with the class of traditional rulers. As long as the number of those who return qualified remains small the isolated individuals do not have the psychological strength to withstand the aggression of a traditional system fighting for survival. If a merger of the structure of indigenous professionals and administrators with the traditional ruling class does not come about quasi traditional attitudes harden into even stronger superstition, magic and resistance which cannot easily be changed from outside. Despite current mistrust apparent among the local Lozi people towards those who have climbed the ladder of prosperity or political influence outside the traditional system they will recognise a capable man if they see one and act for their own good according to their better judgement. This is illustrated by the choice of Yeta Ilute as Litunga.

The multifarious opportunities of the village environment make it necessary to plan a concerted, multilateral implementation of a tested scheme. It happens that this approach is also most promising as far as the attitude and the co-operation of the people is concerned. Provided there is for each member of a village a suitable opportunity to improve his or her life, the response of the majority of the people is assured. With a limited number of people who do not avail themselves of such opportunities, their power of evil accusations of witchcraft, which will always restrain individuals in a village from going it on their own, is weakened. The obvious success of those around will, moreover, motivate the desire of those otherwise less active, energetic and enterprising members of the community. The progress thus achieved may be small but it is likely to be well consolidated over the neighbourhood and so prevent the widening of a gap between the haves and have-nots.

Development should be allowed to evolve through well-tested schemes supported by research and forward planning, implemented on an intensive basis by a host of expert co-workers sharing practically in the field in a limited neighbourhood area defined by the boundaries under a traditional ruler. Success within this limited area will spread and ensure progress throughout the entire valley. Hope for development of the marginal area of the Zambezi valley and indeed the entire plain lies very much with motivated self-help of the people encouraged from outside by specialist expert advice and financial support.

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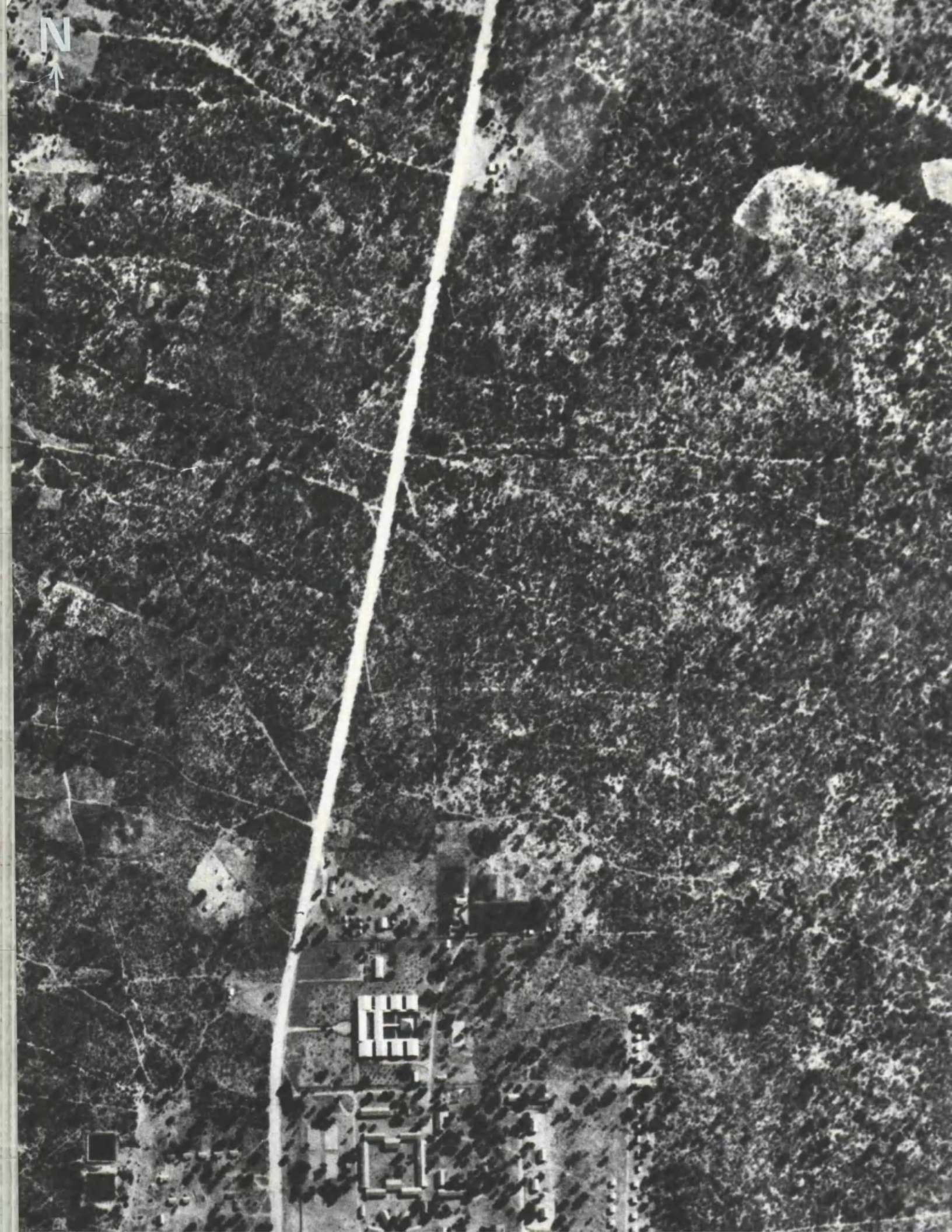
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